

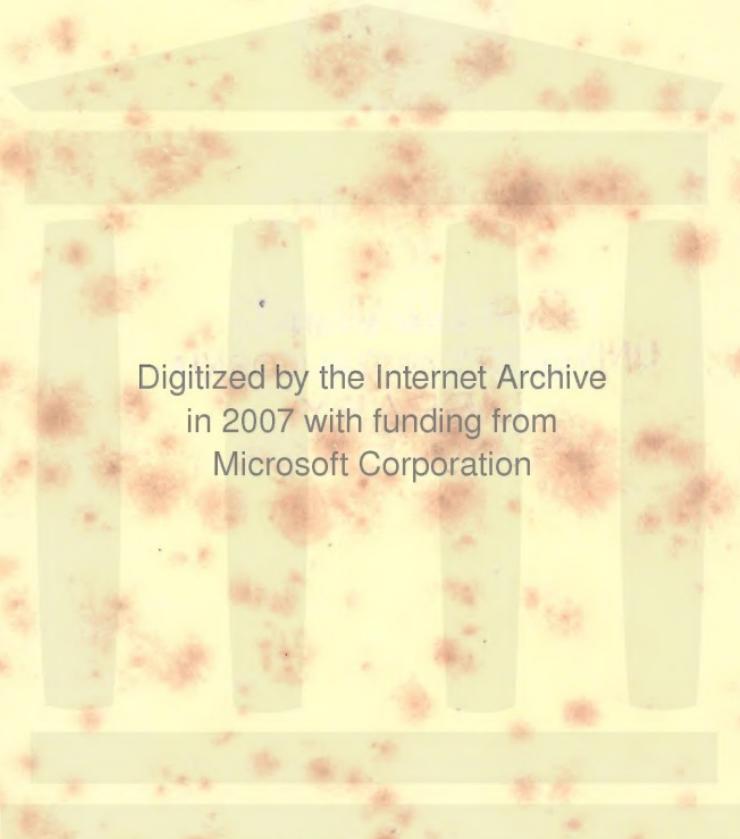




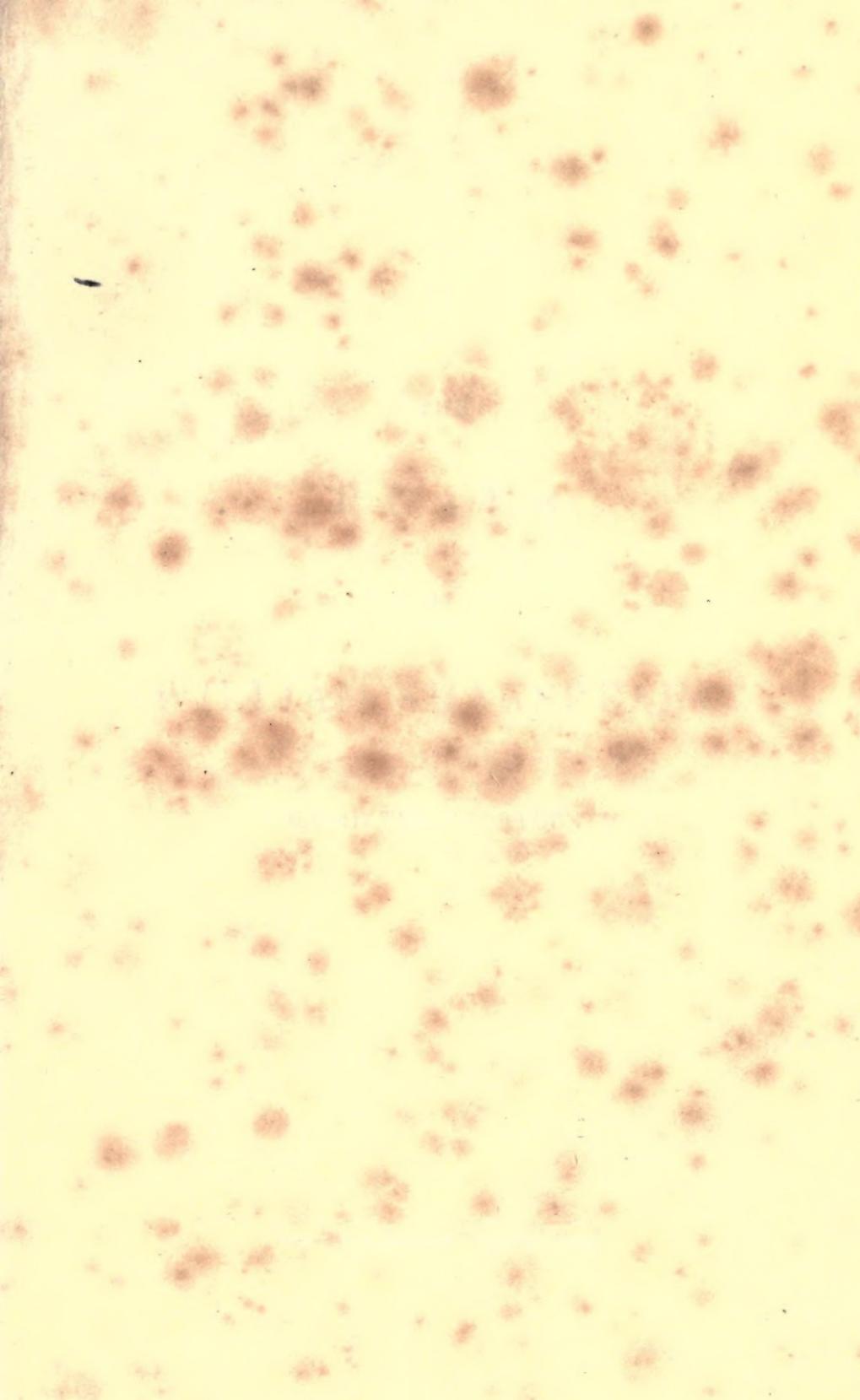
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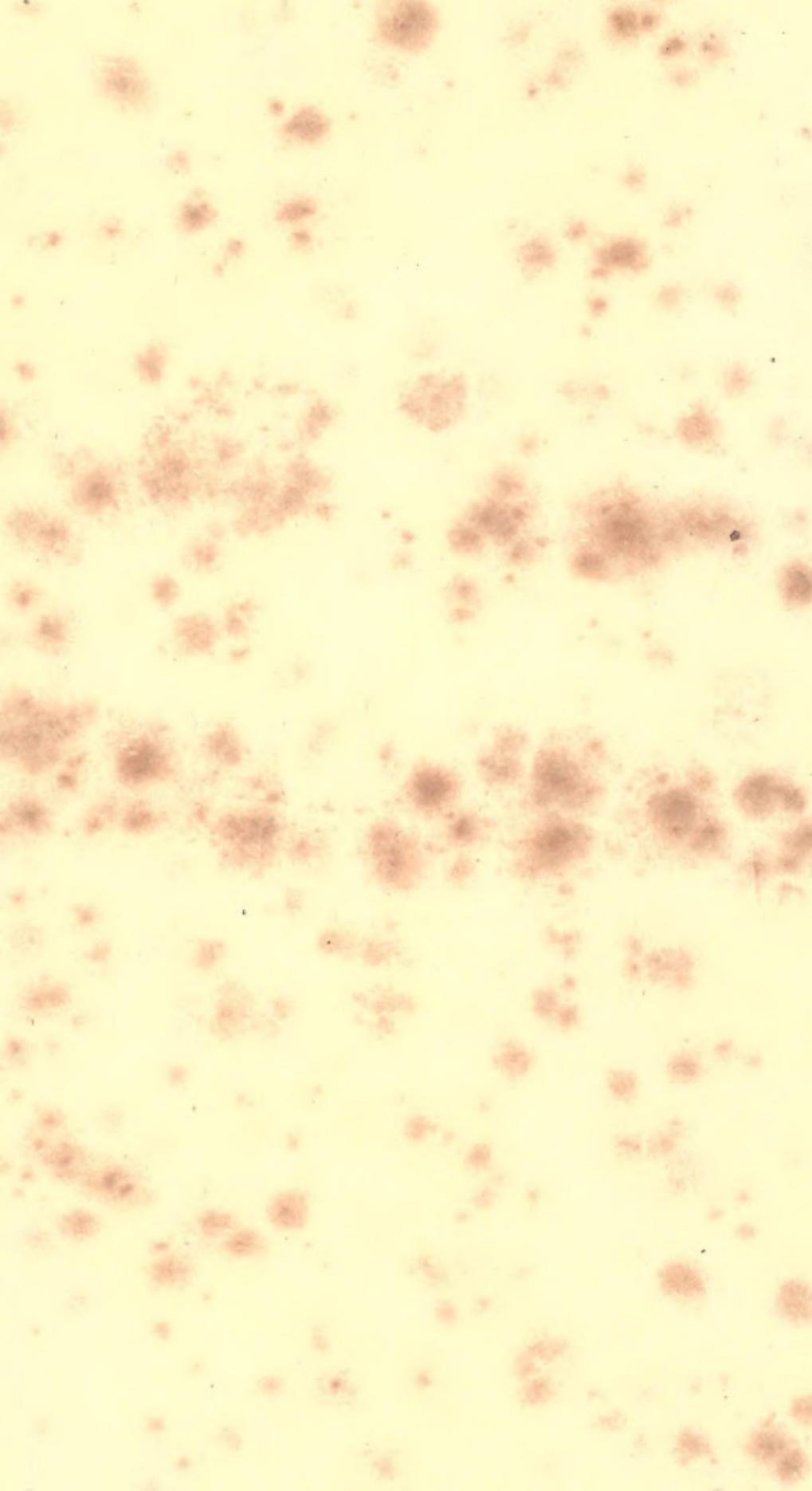
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THE
PLAYS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.
VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

WILLIAM H. WILSON

WILLIAM H. WILSON

THE
PLAYS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

CONTAINING

KING HENRY VI. PART III.
DISSERTATION.
KING RICHARD III.

LONDON:

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KING HENRY VI.

PART III.*

* **THIRD PART OF KING HENRY VI.]** The action of this play (which was at first printed under this title, *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and the good King Henry the Sixth; or, The Second Part of the Contention of York and Lancaster,*) opens just after the first battle at Saint Albans, [May 23, 1455,] wherein the York faction carried the day; and closes with the murder of King Henry VI. and the birth of prince Edward, afterwards King Edward V. [November 4, 1471.] So that this history takes in the space of full sixteen years. **THEOBALD.**

I have never seen the quarto copy of the *Second part of THE WHOLE CONTENTION, &c.* printed by *Valentine Simmes* for Thomas Millington, 1600; but the copy printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, 1600, is now before me; and it is not precisely the same with that described by Mr. Pope and Mr. Theobald, nor does the undated edition (printed in fact, in 1619,) correspond with their description. The title of the piece printed in 1600, by W. W. is as follows: *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt: With the whole Contention between the Two Houses Lancaster and Yorke: as it was sundry Times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his Servants. Printed at London by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his Shoppe under St. Peter's Church in Cornewall, 1600.* On this piece Shakspeare, as I conceive, in 1591 formed the drama before us. See Vol. XIII. p. 2, and the Essay at the end of this play.

MALONE.

The present historical drama was altered by Crowne, and brought on the stage in the year 1680, under the title of *The Miseries of Civil War.* Surely the works of Shakspeare could have been little read at that period; for Crowne, in his Prologue, declares the play to be entirely his own composition:

“ For by his feeble skill ’tis built alone,

“ The divine Shakspeare did not lay one stone.”

whereas the very first scene is that of Jack Cade copied almost verbatim from *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* and several others from this third part, with as little variation. **STEEVENS.**

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Henry the Sixth :

Edward, *Prince of Wales, his Son.*

Lewis XI. *King of France.*

Duke of Somerset. Duke of Exeter.

Earl of Oxford. Earl of Northumberland. Earl of Westmoreland. Lord Clifford.

Lords on K.
Henry's side.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York :

Edward, *Earl of March, afterwards King*

Edward IV.

Edmund, *Earl of Rutland,*

George, *afterwards Duke of Clarence,*

Richard, *afterwards Duke of Gloucester,*

Duke of Norfolk,

Marquis of Montague,

Earl of Warwick,

Earl of Pembroke,

Lord Hastings,

Lord Stafford,

Sir John Mortimer,

Sir Hugh Mortimer,

Henry, *Earl of Richmond, a Youth.*

Lord Rivers, *Brother to Lady Grey.* Sir William Stanley. Sir John Montgomery. Sir John Somerville. Tutor to Rutland. Mayor of York. Lieutenant of the Tower. A Nobleman. Two Keepers. A Huntsman. A Son that has killed his Father. A Father that has killed his Son.

Queen Margaret.

Lady Grey, *afterwards Queen to Edward IV.*

Bona, *Sister to the French Queen.*

Soldiers, and other Attendants on King Henry and King Edward, Messengers, Watchmen, &c.

SCENE, during part of the third Act, in France ;
during all the rest of the Play, in England.

THIRD PART OF
KING HENRY VI.¹

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *The Parliament-House.*

Drums. Some Soldiers of York's party break in.
Then, Enter the Duke of YORK, EDWARD, RICHARD, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Others, with white Roses in their Hats.

WAR. I wonder, how the king escap'd our hands.

YORK. While we pursu'd the horsemen of the north,

He slyly stole away, and left his men :
Whereat the great lord of Northumberland,
Whose warlike ears could never brook retreat,
‘Cheer’d up the drooping army ; and himself,
‘Lord Clifford, and lord Stafford, all a-breast,
‘Charg’d our main battle’s front, and, breaking in,

¹ *Third Part of King Henry VI.]* This play is only divided from the former for the convenience of exhibition ; for the series of action is continued without interruption, nor are any two scenes of any play more closely connected than the first scene of this play with the last of the former. JOHNSON.

‘ Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.²

EDW. Lord Stafford’s father, duke of Buckingham,

‘ Is either slain, or wounded dangerous :

I cleft his beaver with a downright blow ;

‘ That this is true, father, behold his blood.

[*Showing his bloody Sword.*]

MONT. And, brother, here’s the earl of Wiltshire’s blood, [To *YORK*, *showing his*. Whom I encounter’d as the battles join’d.

RICH. Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.³

[*Throwing down the Duke of SOMERSET’s Head.*]

² *Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.*] See the Second Part of this Play, Vol. XIII. p. 386, n. 1. REED.

This is an inadvertency in our author. The elder Clifford was slain by York, and his son lives to revenge his death.

M. MASON.

Dr. Percy in a note on the preceding play, has pointed out the inconsistency between this account, and the representation there, Clifford being killed on the stage by the Duke of York, the present speaker. Shakspeare was led into this inconsistency by the author of the original plays : if indeed there was but one author, for this circumstance might lead us to suspect that the first and second part of *The Contention &c.* were not written by the same hand.—However, this is not decisive ; for the author, whoever he was, might have been inadvertent, as we find Shakspeare undoubtedly was. MALONE.

³ *Rich. Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.*] Here, as Mr. Elderton of Salisbury has observed to me, is a gross anachronism. At the time of the first battle of Saint Albans, at which Richard is represented in the last scene of the preceding play to have fought, he was, according to that gentleman’s calculation, not one year old, having (as he conceives,) been born at Fotheringay Castle, October 21, 1454. At the time to which the third scene of the first Act of this play is referred, he was, according to the same gentleman’s computation, but six years old ; and in the fifth Act, in which Henry is represented as hav-

* *YORK.* Richard hath best deserv'd of all my sons.—

What, is your grace⁴ dead, my lord of Somerset?

NORF. Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt!

RICH. Thus do I hope to shake king Henry's head.

WAR. And so do I.—Victorious prince of York,
Before I see thee seated in that throne
Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,
I vow by heaven, these eyes shall never close.
This is the palace of the fearful king,
‘ And this the regal seat : possess it, York ;
For this is thine, and not king Henry's heirs’.

YORK. Assist me then, sweet Warwick, and I will ;
‘ For hither we have broken in by force.

NORF. We'll all assist you ; he, that flies, shall die.

ing been killed by him in the Tower, not more than sixteen and eight months.

For this anachronism the author or authors of the old plays on which our poet founded these two parts of King Henry the Sixth, are answerable. MALONE.

* What, *is your grace*—] The folio reads—*But* is your grace, &c. It was evidently a mistake of the transcriber, the word in the old play being *What*, which suits sufficiently with York's exultation ; whereas *But* affords no sense whatsoever. MALONE.

Though the sense and verse is complete without either *But* or *What*, I suppose we ought to read :

What, 's your grace dead, my lord of Somerset ?

I do not, however, perceive the inefficiency of—but. This conjunction is sometimes indeterminately used ; and is also insultingly employed in *Twelfth Night* : “ *But, are you not mad indeed, or do you but counterfeit ?* ” STEEVENS.

YORK. Thanks, gentle Norfolk.—Stay by me,
my lords ;—

‘ And, soldiers, stay, and lodge by me this night.

WAR. And, when the king comes, offer him no
violence,

‘ Unless he seek to thrust you out by force.

[*They retire.*

* *YORK.* The queen, this day, here holds her
parliament,

* But little thinks we shall be of her council :

* By words, or blows, here let us win our right.

RICH. Arm’d as we are, let’s stay within this
house.

WAR. The bloody parliament shall this be call’d,
Unless Plantagenet, duke of York, be king ;
And bashful Henry depos’d, whose cowardice
Hath made us by-words to our enemies.

‘ *YORK.* Then leave me not, my lords ; be reso-
lute ;

I mean to take possession of my right.

WAR. Neither the king, nor he that loves him
best,

‘ The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,
Dares stir a wing, if Warwick shake his bells.⁵

‘ I’ll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares :—
Resolve thee, Richard ; claim the English crown.

[*WARWICK leads YORK to the Throne, who
seats himself.*

⁵ — *if Warwick shake his bells.*] The allusion is to falconry. The hawks had sometimes little bells hung upon them, perhaps to *dare* the birds ; that is, to fright them from rising.

JOHNSON.

*Flourish. Enter King HENRY, CLIFFORD, NOR-
THUMBERLAND, WESTMORELAND, EXETER, and
Others, with red Roses in their Hats.*

K. HEN. My lords, look where the sturdy rebel
sits,

Even in the chair of state ! belike, he means,
(Back'd by the power of Warwick, that false peer,) To aspire unto the crown, and reign as king.— Earl of Northumberland, he slew thy father ;— And thine, lord Clifford ; and you both have vow'd revenge

On him, his sons, his favourites, and his friends.

‘ **NORTH.** If I be not, heavens, be reveng'd on me !

CLIF. The hope thereof makes Clifford mourn in steel.

WEST. What, shall we suffer this ? let's pluck him down :

‘ My heart for anger burns, I cannot brook it.

K. HEN. Be patient, gentle earl of Westmoreland.

CLIF. Patience is for poltroons, and such as he ;⁶ He durst not sit there had your father liv'd. My gracious lord, here in the parliament Let us assail the family of York.

NORTH. Well hast thou spoken, cousin ; be it so.

K. HEN. Ah, know you not, the city favours them,

And they have troops of soldiers at their beck ?

⁶ — and such as he :] Thus the second folio. The first folio and the quartos omit—and. STEEVENS.

Exe. But, when the duke is slain, they'll quickly fly.⁷

K. Hen. Far be the thought of this from Henry's heart,

To make a shambles of the parliament-house !
Cousin of Exeter, frowns, words, and threats,
Shall be the war that Henry means to use.—

[*They advance to the Duke.*

Thou factious duke of York, descend my throne,
And kneel for grace and mercy at my feet ;
I am thy sovereign.

York. Thou art deceiv'd,⁸ I am thine.

Exe. For shame, come down; he made thee duke
of York.

York. 'Twas my inheritance, as the earldom was.⁹

Exe. Thy father was a traitor to the crown.

War. Exeter, thou art a traitor to the crown,
In following this usurping Henry.

⁷ *Exe. But, when &c.]* This line is by the mistake of the compositor given to Westmoreland. The king's answer shows that it belongs to Exeter, to whom it is assigned in the old play.

MALONE.

⁸ *Thou art deceiv'd,]* These words, which are not in the folio, were restored from the old play. The defect of the metre in the folio, makes it probable that they were accidentally omitted. The measure is, however, still faulty. MALONE.

⁹ ——*as the earldom was.]* Thus the folio. The quarto 1600, and that without date, read—as the kingdom is. STEEVENS.

York means, I suppose, that the dukedom of York was his inheritance from his father, as the earldom of March was his inheritance from his mother, Anne Mortimer, the wife of the Earl of Cambridge; and by naming the earldom, he covertly asserts his right to the crown; for his title to the crown was not as Duke of York, but Earl of March.

In the original play the line stands [as quoted by Mr. Steevens;] and why Shakespeare altered it, it is not easy to say; for the new line only exhibits the same meaning more obscurely. MALONE.

CLIF. Whom should he follow, but his natural king?

WAR. True, Clifford; and that's Richard,¹ duke of York.

‘ *K. HEN.* And shall I stand, and thou sit in my throne?

‘ *YORK.* It must and shall be so. Content thyself.

WAR. Be duke of Lancaster, let him be king.

WEST. He is both king and duke of Lancaster; And that the lord of Westmoreland shall maintain.

WAR. And Warwick shall disprove it. You forget,

That we are those, which chas'd you from the field, And slew your fathers, and with colours spread March'd through the city to the palace gates.

‘ *NORTH.* Yes, Warwick, I remember it to my grief;

And, by his soul, thou and thy house shall rue it.

‘ *WEST.* Plantagenet, of thee, and these thy sons, Thy kinsmen, and thy friends, I'll have more lives, Than drops of blood were in my father's veins.

‘ *CLIF.* Urge it no more; lest that, instead of words,

I send thee, Warwick, such a messenger, As shall revenge his death, before I stir.

‘ *WAR.* Poor Clifford! how I scorn his worthless threats!

YORK. Will you, we show our title to the crown?

‘ If not, our swords shall plead it in the field.

¹ —— and that's Richard,] The word *and*, which was accidentally omitted in the first folio, is found in the old play.

K. HEN. What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown?

Thy father was, as thou art, duke of York;²
 Thy grandfather, Roger Mortimer, earl of March:
 I am the son of Henry the fifth,³
 Who made the Dauphin and the French to stoop,
 And seiz'd upon their towns and provinces.

WAR. Talk not of France, sith⁴ thou hast lost it all.

K. HEN. The lord protector lost it, and not I;
 When I was crown'd, I was but nine months old.

RICH. You are old enough now, and yet, methinks you lose:—

Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head.

EDW. Sweet father, do so; set it on your head.

MONT. Good brother, [To YORK.] as thou lov'st
 and honour'st arms,

Let's fight it out, and not stand cavilling thus.

RICH. Sound drums and trumpets, and the king will fly.

YORK. Sons, peace!

² *Thy father was, as thou art, duke of York;*] This is a mistake, into which Shakspeare was led by the author of the old play. The father of Richard Duke of York was Earl of Cambridge, and was never Duke of York, being beheaded in the life-time of his elder brother Edward Duke of York, who fell in the battle of Agincourt. The folio, by an evident error of the press, reads —*My father.* The true reading was furnished by the old play.

MALONE.

³ *I am the son of Henry the fifth,*] The military reputation of Henry the Fifth is the sole support of his son. The name of Henry the Fifth dispersed the followers of Cade. JOHNSON.

⁴ —*sith—*] i. e. since. So, in *Measure for Measure*:

“Sith 'twas my fault to give the people scope.”

STEEVENS.

K. Hen. Peace thou ! and give king Henry leave to speak.

War. Plantagenet shall speak first :—hear him, lords ;

And be you silent and attentive too,
For he, that interrupts him, shall not live.

‘ *K. Hen.* Think’st thou, that I will leave my kingly throne,⁵

Wherein my grandsire, and my father, sat ?

No : first shall war unpeople this my realm ;

‘ Ay, and their colours—often borne in France ;

And now in England, to our heart’s great sorrow,—

Shall be my winding-sheet.⁶—Why faint you, lords?

‘ My title’s good, and better far than his.

War. But prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king.⁷

⁵ *Think’st thou, &c.]* The old play here exhibits four lines that are not in the folio. They could not have proceeded from the *imagination* of the transcriber, and therefore they must be added to the many other circumstances that have been already urged, to show that these plays were not *originally* the production of Shakspeare :

“ Ah Plantagenet, why seek’st thou to depose me ?

“ Are we not both Plantagenets by birth,

“ And from two brothers lineally dissent ?

“ Suppose by right and equity thou be king,

“ Think’st thou,” &c. MALONE.

⁶ *Shall be my winding-sheet.]* Perhaps Mr. Gray had this passage in his mind, when he wrote :

“ Weave the warp, and weave the woof,

“ The winding-sheet of Edward’s race—.” STEEVENS.

⁷ *But prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king.]* Thus the second folio. The first omits the necessary word—*But.*

STEEVENS.

Henry is frequently used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries as a word of three syllables. MALONE.

But not as in the present instance, where such a trisyllable must prove offensive to the ear. STEEVENS.

K. HEN. Henry the fourth by conquest got the crown.

YORK. 'Twas by rebellion against his king.

K. HEN. I know not what to say ; my title's weak.

Tell me, may not a king adopt an heir ?

YORK. What then ?

* **K. HEN.** An if he may, then am I lawful king :
For Richard, in the view of many lords,
Resign'd the crown to Henry the fourth ;
Whose heir my father was, and I am his.

YORK. He rose against him, being his sovereign,
And made him to resign his crown perforce.

WAR. Suppose, my lords, he did it unconstrain'd,
Think you, 'twere prejudicial to his crown ?⁸

EXE. No ; for he could not so resign his crown,
But that the next heir should succeed and reign.

K. HEN. Art thou against us, duke of Exeter ?

EXE. His is the right, and therefore pardon me.

* **YORK.** Why whisper you, my lords, and answer
not ?

EXE. My conscience tells me he is lawful king.

* *Think you, 'twere prejudicial to his crown ?]* The phrase *prejudicial to his crown*, if it be right, must mean, detrimental to the general rights of hereditary royalty ; but I rather think that the transcriber's eye caught *crown* from the line below, and that we should read—*prejudicial to his son, to his next heir.*

JOHNSON.

Dr. Percy observes on Dr. Johnson's note, that *son* could not have been the right word, as Richard the Second had no issue ; and our author would hardly have used it simply for *heir general*. *Prejudicial to the crown*, is right, i. e. to the prerogative of the crown. STEEVENS.

K. HEN. All will revolt from me, and turn to him.

NORTH. Plantagenet, for all the claim thou lay'st,
Think not, that Henry shall be so depos'd.

' **WAR.** Depos'd he shall be, in despite of all.

NORTH. Thou art deceiv'd : 'tis not thy southern power,

' Of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, nor of Kent,—
Which makes thee thus presumptuous and proud,—
Can set the duke up, in despite of me.

CLIF. King Henry, be thy title right or wrong,
Lord Clifford vows to fight in thy defence :
May that ground gape, and swallow me alive,⁹
' Where I shall kneel to him that slew my father !

' **K. HEN.** O Clifford, how thy words revive my heart !

YORK. Henry of Lancaster, resign thy crown :—
What mutter you, or what conspire you, lords ?

WAR. Do right unto this princely duke of York ;
Or I will fill the house with armed men,
And, o'er the chair of state, where now he sits,
Write up his title with usurping blood.

[*He stamps, and the Soldiers show themselves.*

' **K. HEN.** My lord of Warwick, hear me but one word ;¹—

⁹ *May that ground gape, and swallow me alive,]* So, in Phaer's translation of the fourth *Aeneid* :

" But rather would I wish the ground to gape for me below." STEEVENS.

¹ —— hear but one word ;] Hear is in this line, as in some other places, used as a dissyllable. See Vol. XI. p. 411, n. 4. The editor of the third folio, and all the subsequent editors, read —hear me but one word. MALONE.

The word—*hear*, in this place, may certainly pass as a dis-

‘ Let me, for this my life-time, reign as king.

YORK. Confirm the crown to me, and to mine heirs,

And thou shalt reign in quiet while thou liv’st.

K. HEN. I am content : Richard Plantagenet,
Enjoy the kingdom after my decease.²

CLIF. What wrong is this unto the prince your son ?

WAR. What good is this to England, and himself ?

WEST. Base, fearful, and despairing Henry !

‘ *CLIF.* How hast thou injur’d both thyself and us ?

WEST. I cannot stay to hear these articles.

NORTH. Nor I.

CLIF. Come, cousin, let us tell the queen these news.

* *WEST.* Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king,

* In whose cold blood no spark of honour bides.

NORTH. Be thou a prey unto the house of York,

‘ And die in bands for this unmanly deed !

* *CLIF.* In dreadful war may’st thou be overcome !

syllable. Respecting that referred to by Mr. Malone, I am of a contrary opinion. *STEEVENS.*

Since the third folio reads—hear *me* but one word, which improves both the language and the metre, why should it not be followed ? *M. MASON.*

³ *I am content : &c.*] Instead of this speech the old play has the following lines :

“ *King.* Convey the soldiers hence, and then I will.

“ *War.* Captaine, conduct them into Tuthilfields.”

See Vol. XIII. p. 210, n. 9 ; p. 220, n. 6 ; p. 234, n. 1 ; p. 317, n. 3 ; p. 322, n. 3. *MALONE.*

Or live in peace, abandon'd, and despis'd !

[*Exeunt* NORTHUMBERLAND, CLIFFORD,
and WESTMORELAND.]

* *WAR.* Turn this way, Henry, and regard them
not.

EXE. They seek revenge,³ and therefore will not
yield.

K. HEN. Ah, Exeter !

WAR. Why should you sigh, my lord ?

K. HEN. Not for myself, lord Warwick, but my
son,

Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit.

But, be it as it may :—I here entail

‘ The crown to thee, and to thine heirs for ever ;
Conditionally, that here thou take an oath

To cease this civil war, and, whilst I live,

To honour me as thy king and sovereign ;

* And neither⁴ by treason, nor hostility,

* To seek to put me down, and reign thyself.

³ *They seek revenge,*] They go away, not because they doubt the justice of this determination, but because they have been conquered, and seek to be revenged. They are not influenced by principle, but passion. JOHNSON.

⁴ *And neither—]* *Neither, either, whether, brother, rather,* and many similar words, were used by Shakspeare as monosyllables. So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* :

“ *Either* death or you I'll find immediately.”

The editor of the second folio, who appears to have been entirely ignorant of our author's metre and phraseology, not knowing this, omitted the word *And*. MALONE.

My ignorance must be content to accompany that of the editor of the second folio ; for how—*either, brother, neither, or rather,* can be pronounced as monosyllables, I am yet to learn.

The versification, however, in this and the preceding play is often so irregular, that I leave the passage before us as it stands in the first folio. STEEVENS.

YORK. This oath I willingly take, and will perform. [Coming from the Throne.]

WAR. Long live king Henry!—Plantagenet, embrace him.

* *K. HEN.* And long live thou, and these thy forward sons!

YORK. Now York and Lancaster are reconcil'd.

EXE. Accurs'd be he, that seeks to make them foes! [Senet. The Lords come forward.]

* *YORK.* Farewell, my gracious lord; I'll to my castle.⁵

WAR. And I'll keep London, with my soldiers.

NORF. And I to Norfolk, with my followers.

MONT. And I unto the sea, from whence I came.

[Exeunt *YORK, and his Sons, WARWICK, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, Soldiers, and Attendants.*]

* *K. HEN.* And I, with grief and sorrow, to the court.

Enter Queen MARGARET and the Prince of Wales.

EXE. Here comes the queen, whose looks bewray⁶ her anger:
I'll steal away.

K. HEN. Exeter, so will I. [Going.]

⁵ — *I'll to my castle.*] Sandal Castle near Wakefield, in Yorkshire. *MALONE.*

⁶ — *bewray*—] i. e. betray, discover. So, in *K. Lear*: “Mark the high noises, and thyself *bewray*.” Again, *ibid*:

“He did *bewray* his practice.” *STEEVENS.*

* Q. MAR. Nay, go not from me, I will follow thee.

K. HEN. Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

* Q. MAR. Who can be patient in such extremes?

* Ah, wretched man! 'would I had died a maid,
 * And never seen thee, never borne thee son,
 * Seeing thou hast prov'd so unnatural a father!
 * Hath he deserv'd to lose his birthright thus?
 * Hadst thou but lov'd him half so well as I;
 * Or felt that pain which I did for him once;
 * Or nourish'd him, as I did with my blood;
 * Thou wouldst have left thy dearest heart-blood
 there,
 * Rather than made⁷ that savage duke thine heir,
 * And disinherited thine only son.

* PRINCE. Father, you cannot disinherit me:
 * If you be king, why should not I succeed?

* K. HEN. Pardon me, Margaret;—pardon me,
 sweet son;—

* The earl of Warwick, and the duke, enforc'd me.

* Q. MAR. Enforc'd thee! art thou king, and
 wilt be forc'd?

I shame to hear thee speak. Ah, timorous wretch!
 Thou hast undone thyself, thy son, and me;
 * And given unto the house of York such head,
 * As thou shalt reign but by their sufferance.
 * To entail him and his heirs unto the crown,
 * What is it, but to make thy sepulchre,⁸

⁷ Rather than made—] Old copy—Rather than *have* made. The compositor inadvertently repeated the word—*have*, from the preceding line. STEEVENS.

Rather is here used as a monosyllable. See p. 17, n. 4.
 MALONE.

* What is it, but to make thy sepulchre,] The Queen's re-

- * And creep into it far before thy time?
- * Warwick is chancellor, and the lord of Calais;
- Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas;⁹
- The duke is made protector of the realm;
- ‘ And yet shalt thou be safe? * such safety finds
- * The trembling lamb, environed with wolves.
- ‘ Had I been there, which am a silly woman,
- ‘ The soldiers should have toss’d me on their pikes,
- ‘ Before I would have granted to that act.
- * But thou preferr’st thy life before thine honour:
- ‘ And seeing thou dost, I here divorce myself,

proach is founded on a position long received among politicians, that the loss of a king’s power is soon followed by loss of life.

JOHNSON.

⁹ Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas;] So, in Marlowe’s *Edward II*:

“ The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas.”

This may be too slight a circumstance to prove Marlowe the author of *The Whole Contention*; it is, however, in other respects, sufficiently probable that he had some hand in it.

The person here meant was Thomas Nevil, bastard son to the lord Faulconbridge, “ a man,” says Hall, “ of no lesse corage then audacitie, who for his euel condicions was such an apte person, that a more meter could not be chosen to set all the worlde in a broyle, and to put the estate of the realme on an yl hazard.” He had been appointed by Warwick vice-admiral of the sea, and had in charge so to keep the passage between Dover and Calais, that none which either favoured King Henry or his friends should escape untaken or undrowned: such at least were his instructions, with respect to the friends and favourers of King Edward, after the rupture between him and Warwick. On Warwick’s death, he fell into poverty, and robbed, both by sea and land, as well friends as enemies. He once brought his ships up the Thames, and with a considerable body of the men of Kent and Essex, made a spirited assault on the city, with a view to plunder and pillage, which was not repelled but after a sharp conflict and the loss of many lives; and, had it happened at a more critical period, might have been attended with fatal consequences to Edward. After roving on the sea some little time longer, he ventured to land at Southampton, where he was taken and beheaded. See Hall and Holinshed. RITSON.

‘ Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed,
 ‘ Until that act of parliament be repeal’d,
 ‘ Whereby my son is disinherited.¹

The northern lords, that have forsworn thy colours,
 Will follow mine, if once they see them spread :
 ‘ And spread they shall be ; to thy foul disgrace,
 ‘ And utter ruin of the house of York.

‘ Thus do I leave thee :—Come, son, let’s away ;
 ‘ Our army’s ready ; come, we’ll after them.

K. Hen. Stay, gentle Margaret, and hear me speak.

Q. Mar. Thou hast spoke too much already ; get thee gone.

K. Hen. Gentle son Edward, thou wilt stay with me ?

Q. Mar. Ay, to be murder’d by his enemies.

Prince. When I return with victory from the field,²

I’ll see your grace : till then, I’ll follow her.

Q. Mar. Come, son, away ; we may not linger thus.

[*Exeunt Queen MARGARET, and the Prince.*

‘ *K. Hen.* Poor queen ! how love to me, and to her son,
 ‘ Hath made her break out into terms of rage !
 ‘ Reveng’d may she be on that hateful duke ;
 * Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,

¹ *Whereby my son is disinherited.*] The corresponding line in the old play is this. The variation is remarkable :

“ Wherein thou yieldest to the house of York.”

MALONE.

² — from the field,] Folio—to the field. The true reading is found in the old play. MALONE.

* Will cost my crown, and, like an empty eagle,³

³ Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,
Will cost my crown, and, like an empty eagle, &c.] Read
coast, i. e. hover over it. WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton's alteration aims at a distinction without a difference, both *cost* and *coast* being ultimately derivations of the same original. HENLEY.

The word which Dr. Warburton would introduce, has been supposed to violate the metaphor; nor indeed is *to coast* used as a term of falconry in any of the books professedly written on that subject. To *coast* is a sea-faring expression, and means to keep along shore. We may, however, maintain the integrity of the figure, by inserting the word *cote*, which is used in *Hamlet*, and in a sense convenient enough on this occasion:

"We coted them on the way."

To *cote* is to come up with, to overtake, to reach. So, in *The Return from Parnassus*, a comedy, 1606:

"— marry, we presently *coted* and outstrip them."

Yet, on further inquiry, I am become less certain, that to *coast* is merely a sea-faring expression. It is used in the following instance to denote speed:

"And all in haste she *coasteth* to the cry."

Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

Again, in *The Loyal Subject*, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"Take you those horse, and *coast* them."

Again, in *The Maid of the Mill*, by the same authors, two gentlemen are entering, and a lady asks:

"— who are those that *coast* us?"

Mr. Tollet therefore observes, that Dr. Warburton's interpretation may be right, as Holinshed often uses the verb to *coast*, i. e. to hover, or range about any thing. So, in Chapman's version of the fifth *Iliad*:

"Atrides yet *coasts* through the troops, confirming men
so stay'd."

See Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 352: "William Douglas still *coasted* the Englishmen, doing them what damage he might." So again, p. 387, and 404, and in other writers. STEEVENS.

I have no doubt but *coast* is the true reading. To *coast* is to keep along side of it, and watch it. In *King Henry VIII.* the Chamberlain says of Wolsey:

"— the king perceives him how he *coasts*

"And hedges his own way."

- * Tire on the flesh of me, and of my son !⁴
- * The loss of those three lords⁵ torments my heart :
- * I'll write unto them, and entreat them fair ;—
- * Come, cousin, you shall be the messenger.⁶

* EXE. And I, I hope, shall reconcile them all.
[Exeunt.]

And in the last Act of *The Loyal Subject*, Archas says :

“ _____ Lord Barris,

“ Take you those horse, and coast them.” M. MASON.

Will cost my crown,] i. e. will cost *me* my crown ; will induce on me the expence or loss of my crown. MALONE.

Had this been our author's meaning, he would have otherwise formed his verse, and written “ *cost me* my crown.” So, in *King Lear* :

“ The dark and vicious place where thee he got,

“ *Cost him his eyes.*” STEEVENS.

* *Tire on the flesh of me,*] To *tire* is to fasten, to fix the talons, from the French *tirer*. JOHNSON.

To *tire* is to *peck*. So, in Decker's *Match me in London*, 1631 :

“ _____ the vulture *tires*

“ Upon the eagle's heart.” STEEVENS.

⁵ — *those three lords*—] That is, of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Clifford, who had left him in disgust.

JOHNSON.

⁶ — *you shall be the messenger.*] Instead of the six last lines of this speech, the first copy presents these :

“ Come, cousin of Exeter, stay thou here,

“ For Clifford and those northern lords be gone,

“ I fear towards Wakefield, to disturb the duke.”

See p. 16, n. 2, and the notes there referred to. MALONE.

SCENE II.

A Room in Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire.

Enter EDWARD, RICHARD, and MONTAGUE.

* *RICH.* Brother, though I be youngest, give me leave.

EDW. No, I can better play the orator.

MONT. But I have reasons strong and forcible,

Enter YORK.

* *YORK.* Why, how now, sons and brother,⁷ at a strife?

* What is your quarrel? how began it first?

⁷ —— sons and brother,] I believe we should read—*cousin* instead of *brother*, unless *brother* be used by Shakspeare as a term expressive of endearment, or because they embarked, like brothers, in one cause. Montague was only cousin to York, and in the quarto he is so called. Shakspeare uses the expression, *brother of the war*, in *King Lear*. STEEVENS.

It should be *sons and brothers*; my *sons*, and *brothers* to each other. JOHNSON.

Brother is right. In the two succeeding pages York calls Montague *brother*. This may be in respect to their being *brothers of the war*, as Mr. Steevens observes, or of the same council, as in *King Henry VIII.* who says to Cranmer: “ You are *brother* of us.” Montague was brother to Warwick; Warwick’s daughter was married to a son of York: therefore York and Montague were brothers. But as this alliance did not take place during the life of York, I embrace Mr. Steevens’s interpretation rather than suppose that Shakspeare made a mistake about the time of the marriage. TOLLET.

The third folio reads as Dr. Johnson advises. But as York

- ‘ *EDW.* No quarrel, but a slight contention.⁸
- ‘ *YORK.* About what?
- ‘ *RICH.* About that which concerns your grace, and us;
- ‘ The crown of England, father, which is yours.
- ‘ *YORK.* Mine, boy? not till king Henry be dead.
- * *RICH.* Your right depends not on his life, or death.
- * *EDW.* Now you are heir, therefore enjoy it now:
- * By giving the house of Lancaster leave to breathe,
- * It will outrun you, father, in the end.
- ‘ *YORK.* I took an oath, that he should quietly reign.
- ‘ *EDW.* But, for a kingdom, any oath may be broken:
- ‘ I’d break a thousand oaths, to reign one year.
- ‘ *RICH.* No; God forbid, your grace should be forsown.⁹

again in this scene addresses Montague by the title of *brother*, and Montague uses the same to York, Dr. Johnson’s conjecture cannot be right. Shakspeare certainly supposed them to be brothers-in-law. MALONE.

⁸ *No quarrel, but a slight contention.]* Thus the players, first, in their edition; who did not understand, I presume, the force of the epithet in the old quarto, which I have restored—*sweet contention*, i. e. the argument of their dispute was upon a grateful topick; the question of their father’s immediate right to the crown. THEOBALD.

Sweet is, I think, the better reading of the two; and I should certainly have received it had it been found in the folio, which Mr. Malone supposes to be the copy of this play, as reformed by Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

⁹ Rich. *No; God forbid, &c.]* Instead of this and the three following speeches, the old play has these lines:

- “ *YORK.* I shall be, if I claim by open war.
- “ *RICH.* I’ll prove the contrary, if you’ll hear me speak.
- “ *YORK.* Thou canst not, son ; it is impossible.
- “ *RICH.* An oath is of no moment,¹ being not took
- “ Before a true and lawful magistrate,
- “ That hath authority over him that swears :
- “ Henry had none, but did usurp the place ;
- “ Then, seeing ‘twas he that made you to depose,
- “ Your oath, my lord, is vain and frivolous.
- “ Therefore, to arms. * And, father, do but think,
- * How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown ;
- * Within whose circuit is Elysium,
- * And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.
- * Why do we linger thus ? I cannot rest,

“ *Rich.* An if it please your grace to give me leave,
 “ I’ll shew your grace the way to save your oath,
 “ And dispossess King Henry from the crown.
 “ *York.* I pr’ythee, Dick, let me hear thy devise.”

MALONE.

¹ *An oath is of no moment,*] The obligation of an oath is here eluded by very despicable sophistry. A lawful magistrate alone has the power to exact an oath, but the oath derives no part of its force from the magistrate. The plea against the obligation of an oath obliging to maintain a usurper, taken from the unlawfulness of the oath itself in the foregoing play, was rational and just. JOHNSON.

This speech is formed on the following one in the old play :

“ *Rich.* Then thus, my lord. An oath is of no moment,

“ Being not sworn before a lawful magistrate ;
 “ Henry is none, but doth usurp your right ;
 “ And yet your grace stands bound to him by oath :
 “ Then, noble father,
 “ Resolve yourself, and once more claim the crown.”

MALONE.

- * Until the white rose, that I wear, be died
- * Even in the lukewarm blood of Henry's heart.
- ‘ *YORK.* Richard, enough; I will be king, or die.—
- ‘ Brother, thou shalt to London presently,²
- ‘ And whet on Warwick to this enterprise.—
- ‘ Thou, Richard, shalt unto the duke of Norfolk,
- ‘ And tell him privily of our intent.—
- ‘ You, Edward, shall unto my lord Cobham,
With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise:
- ‘ In them I trust; for they are soldiers,
- ‘ Witty and courteous, liberal, full of spirit.³—

² *Brother, thou shalt to London presently,]* Thus the original play:

“ Edward, thou shalt to Edmond Brooke, lord Cobham,
 “ With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise.
 “ Thou, cousin Montague, shalt to Norfolk straight,
 “ And bid the duke to muster up his soldiers,
 “ And come to me to Wakefield presently.
 “ And Richard, thou to London straight shall post,
 “ And bid Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick
 “ To leave the city, and with his men of war
 “ To meet me at St. Albans ten days hence.
 “ My self here in Sandall castle will provide
 “ Both men and money, to further our attempts.”

MALONE.

³ *Witty and courteous, liberal, full of spirit.]* What a blessed harmonious line have the editors given us! and what a promising epithet, in York's behalf, from the Kentishmen being so witty! I cannot be so partial, however, to my own county, as to let this compliment pass. I make no doubt to read:

—*for they are soldiers,*

Wealthy and courteous, liberal, full of spirit.

Now these five characteristicks answer to Lord Say's description of them in the preceding play:

“ Kent, in the commentaries Cæsar writ,
 “ Is term'd the civil'st place in all this isle;
 “ The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy.”

THEOBALD.

This is a conjecture of very little import. JOHNSON.

‘ While you are thus employ’d, what resteth more,
 ‘ But that I seek occasion how to rise ;
 ‘ And yet the king not privy to my drift,
 ‘ Nor any of the house of Lancaster ?

Enter a Messenger.⁴

‘ But, stay ; What news ? Why com’st thou in such
 post ?
 ‘ *MESS.* The queen, with all the northern earls
 and lords,⁵

I see no reason for adopting Theobald’s emendation. *Witty* anciently signified, of sound judgment. The poet calls Buckingham, “the deep revolving, *witty* Buckingham.” STEEVENS.

Enter a Messenger.] Thus the quartos ; the folio reads, *Enter Gabriel.* STEEVENS.

Gabriel was the actor who played this inconsiderable part. He is mentioned by Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612. The correction has been made [by Mr. Theobald] from the old play. MALONE.

The queen, with all &c.] I know not whether the author intended any moral instruction, but he that reads this has a striking admonition against that precipitancy by which men often use unlawful means to do that which a little delay would put honestly in their power. Had York staid but a few moments, he had saved his cause from the stain of perjury. JOHNSON.

It will be no more than justice to York, if we recollect that this scene, so far as respects the oath, and his resolution to break it, proceeds entirely from our author’s imagination. Neither the Earl of March nor Richard was then at Sandal ; the latter being likewise a mere child, barely turned of eight years old. His appearance, therefore, and actions in this, and, at least, the two first Acts of the following play, are totally unsupported by history and truth.

It may be likewise observed that the Queen was not actually present at this battle, not returning out of Scotland till some little time after. This insurrection, which the Duke, not in breach of, but in strict conformity with, his oath to the King, and in dis-

‘ Intend here to besiege you in your castle :
 ‘ She is hard by with twenty thousand men ;⁶
 ‘ And therefore fortify your hold, my lord.

charge of his duty as protector of the realm, had marched from London to suppress, was headed by the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Nevil, who in direct violation of a mutual agreement, and before the day prefixed for the battle, fell suddenly upon the Duke’s army, made him and Salisbury prisoners, and treated him in the manner here described. See *Whethamstede*. Salisbury was next day killed at Pontefract by a bastard son of the Duke of Exeter, and beheaded, with York, Rutland, and others, after death. *W. Wyrcester.*

RITSON.

In October 1460, when it was established in parliament that the Duke of York should succeed to the throne after Henry’s death, the Duke and his two sons, the Earl of March, and the Earl of Rutland, took an oath to do no act whatsoever that might “sound to the abridgement of the natural life of King Henry the Sixth, or diminishing of his reign or dignity royal.” Having persuaded the King to send for the Queen and the Prince of Wales, (who were then in York,) and finding that she would not obey his requisition, he on the second of December set out for his castle in Yorkshire, with such military power as he had; a messenger having been previously dispatched to the Earl of March, to desire him to follow his father with all the forces he could procure. The Duke arrived at Sandal Castle on the 24th of December, and in a short time his army amounted to five thousand men. An anonymous Remarker, [the author of the preceding note,] however, very confidently asserts, that “this scene, so far as respects York’s *oath* and *his resolution to break it*, proceeds entirely from the author’s imagination.” His oath is on record; and what his *resolution* was when he marched from London at the head of a large body of men, and sent the message above stated to his son, it is not very difficult to conjecture.

MALONE.

⁶ —— with twenty thousand men ;] In the quarto this speech stands as follows :

“ My lord, the queene with thirty thousand men
 “ Accompanied with the earles of Cumberland,
 “ Northumberland, and Westmerland,
 “ With others of the house of Lancaster,
 “ Are marching towards Wakefield,
 “ To besiege you in your castle heere.” STEEVENS.

* *YORK.* Ay, with my sword. What ! think'st thou, that we fear them ?—

• Edward and Richard, you shall stay with me ;—

• My brother Montague shall post to London :

* Let noble Warwick, Cobham, and the rest,

* Whom we have left protectors of the king,

* With powerful policy strengthen themselves,

* And trust not simple Henry, nor his oaths.

* *MONT.* Brother, I go ; I'll win them, fear it not :

* And thus most humbly I do take my leave. [*Exit.*

Enter Sir JOHN and Sir HUGH MORTIMER.

YORK. Sir John, and Sir Hugh Mortimer, mine uncles !

• You are come to Sandal in a happy hour ;

The army of the queen mean to besiege us.

SIR JOHN. She shall not need, we'll meet her in the field.

* *YORK.* What, with five thousand men ?

RICH. Ay, with five hundred, father, for a need.

A woman's general ; What should we fear ?

[*A March afar off.*

* *EDW.* I hear their drums ; let's set our men in order ;

• And issue forth, and bid them battle straight.

* *YORK.* Five men to twenty!⁷—though the odds be great,

⁷ *Five men to twenty ! &c.*] Thus, in the old play :

“ York. Indeed many brave battles have I won

“ In Normandy, whereas the enemy

“ Hath been ten to one, and why should I now

“ Doubt of the like success. I am resolv'd.

“ Come, let us go.

“ Edw. Let us march away. I hear their drums.”

‘ I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.
 ‘ Many a battle have I won in France,
 ‘ When as the enemy hath been ten to one ;
 ‘ Why should I not now have the like success ?

[*Alarum. Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Plains near Sandal Castle.

Alarums : Excursions. Enter RUTLAND, and his Tutor.⁸

‘ *RUT.* Ah, whither shall I fly to 'scape their hands!¹⁹
 Ah, tutor ! look, where bloody Clifford comes !

Enter CLIFFORD, and Soldiers.

CLIF. Chaplain, away ! thy priesthood saves thy life.

As for the brat of this accursed duke,
 Whose father¹ slew my father,—he shall die.

TUT. And I, my lord, will bear him company.

CLIF. Soldiers, away with him.

⁸ —— *his Tutor.*] A priest called Sir Robert Aspall, *Hall*, Henry VI. fol. 99. *RITSON.*

⁹ *Ah, whither &c.*] This scene in the old play opens with these lines :

“ *Tutor.* Oh, fly my lord, let's leave the castle,
 “ And fly to Wakefield straight.” *MALONE.*

¹ *Whose father—*] i. e. the father of which brat, namely the Duke of York. *MALONE.*

- ‘ TUT. Ah, Clifford! murder not this innocent child,
- ‘ Lest thou be hated both of God and man.

[*Exit, forced off by Soldiers.*

CLIF. How now! is he dead already? Or, is it fear,

That makes him close his eyes?²—I'll open them.

‘ RUT. So looks the pent-up lion³ o'er the wretch

‘ That trembles under his devouring paws:⁴

And so he walks, insulting o'er his prey;

‘ And so he comes to rend his limbs asunder.—

‘ Ah, gentle Clifford, kill me with thy sword,
And not with such a cruel threat'ning look.

Sweet Clifford, hear me speak before I die;—

I am too mean a subject for thy wrath,

Be thou reveng'd on men, and let me live.

‘ —— is he dead already? Or, is it fear,

That makes him close his eyes?] This circumstance is taken from Hall: “ Whilst this battail was in fighting, a prieste called Sir Robbert Aspall, chappelaine and schole-master to the yong erle of Rutlande, ii sonne to the above named duke of Yorke, scarce of the age of xii yeres, a faire gentleman, and a mayden-like person, perceyving that flight was more safe-gard than tarrying, bothe for hym and his master, secretly conveyd therle out of the felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne; but or he could entre into a house, he was by the sayd Lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong gentleman dismayed, had not a word to speake, but kneeled on his knees, imploring mercy, and desiring grace, both with holding up his handes, and making dolorous countenance, *for his speache was gone for feare.*”

MALONE.

‘ So looks the pent-up lion—] That is, The lion that hath been long confined without food, and is let out to devour a man condemned. JOHNSON.

‘ —— devouring paws:] Surely the epithet *devouring*, which might well have characterised the whole animal, is oddly bestowed on his paws. STEEVENS.

CLIF. In vain thou speak'st, poor boy ; my father's blood
Hath stopp'd the passage where thy words should enter.

RUT. Then let my father's blood open it again ;
He is a man, and, Clifford, cope with him.

CLIF. Had I thy brethren here, their lives, and thine,

Were not revenge sufficient for me ;
No, if I digg'd up thy forefathers' graves,
And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,
It could not slake mine ire, nor ease my heart.
The sight of any of the house of York
Is as a fury to torment my soul ;⁵
‘ And till I root out their accursed line,
‘ And leave not one alive, I live in hell.

Therefore— [Lifting his Hand.]

RUT. O, let me pray before I take my death :—
To thee I pray ; Sweet Clifford, pity me !

CLIF. Such pity as my rapier's point affords.

‘ *RUT.* I never did thee harm ; Why wilt thou slay me ?

CLIF. Thy father hath.

RUT. But 'twas ere I was born.⁶

* *The sight of any of the house of York*

Is as a fury &c.] In *Romeo and Juliet* the same idea is expressed in humbler language : “ A dog of the house of Montague moves me.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *But 'twas ere I was born.]* Rutland is under a mistake. The battle of St. Albans, in which old Clifford was slain, happened in 1455 ; that of Wakefield in 1460. He appears to have been at this time about seventeen years old. RITSON.

The author of the original play appears to have been as incorrect in his chronology as Shakspeare. Rutland was born, I believe, in 1448 ; according to Hall, in 1448 ; and Clifford's

Thou hast one son, for his sake pity me ;
 Lest, in revenge thereof,—sith⁷ God is just,—
 He be as miserably slain as I.

Ah, let me live in prison all my days ;
 And when I give occasion of offence,
 Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause.

CLIF. No cause ?

Thy father slew my father ; therefore, die.

[*CLIFFORD stabs him.*

RUT. *Dii faciant, laudis summa sit ista tuæ!*⁸

[*Dies.*

CLIF. Plantagenet ! I come, Plantagenet !
 And this thy son's blood cleaving to my blade,
 Shall rust upon my weapon, till thy blood,
 Congeal'd with this, do make me wipe off both.

[*Exit.*

father was killed at the battle of St. Albans, in 1455. Consequently Rutland was then at least seven years old ; more probably twelve. The same observation has been made by an anonymous writer. MALONE.

⁷ — sith —] i. e. since. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor :*

“ — sith you yourself know how easy it is to be such an offender.”

STEEVENS.

* *Dii faciant, &c.]* This line is in Ovid's *Epistle from Phillis to Demophoon*. I find the same quotation in *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up, &c.* 1596.

STEEVENS.

SCENE IV.

*The same.**Alarum. Enter YORK.*

• **YORK.** The army of the queen hath got the field :

‘ My uncles both are slain in rescuing me ;⁹
 ‘ And all my followers to the eager foe
 ‘ Turn back, and fly, like ships before the wind,
 ‘ Or lambs pursu’d by hunger-starved wolves.
 ‘ My sons—God knows, what hath bechanced
 them :

But this I know,—they have demean’d themselves
 Like men born to renown, by life, or death.

‘ Three times did Richard make a lane to me ;
 And thrice cried,—*Courage, father ! fight it out !*
 ‘ And full as oft came Edward to my side,
 With purple faulchion, painted to the hilt
 ‘ In blood of those¹ that had encounter’d him :
 ‘ And when the hardiest warriors did retire,
 ‘ Richard cried,—*Charge ! and give no foot of
 ground !*
 ‘ And cried,—*A crown, or else a glorious tomb !*
 ‘ *A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre !*
 With this, we charg’d again : but, out, alas !

⁹ *My uncles both are slain in rescuing me ;*] These were two bastard uncles by the mother’s side, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer. See Grafton’s *Chronicle*, p. 649. PERCY.

¹ *With purple faulchion, painted to the hilt
 In blood of those —*] So, in *King Henry V.*:
 “ With pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur.”

STEEVENS.

- We bodg'd again ;² as I have seen a swan
- With bootless labour swim against the tide,
- Andspend her strength with over-matching waves.

[A short Alarum within.]

- Ah, hark ! the fatal followers do pursue ;
- And I am faint, and cannot fly their fury :
- And, were I strong, I would not shun their fury :
- The sands are number'd, that make up my life ;
- Here must I stay, and here my life must end.

Enter Queen MARGARET, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, and Soldiers.

- Come, bloody Clifford,—rough Northumberland,—
- I dare your quenchless fury to more rage ;
- I am your butt, and I abide your shot.

NORTH. Yield to our mercy, proud Plantagenet.

CLIF. Ay, to such mercy, as his ruthless arm,
With downright payment, show'd unto my father.

² *We bodg'd again ;*] I find *bodgery* used by Nashe in his *Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, 1593, for *botchery*: “ Do you know your own misbegotten *bodgery* ? ” To *bodge* might therefore mean, (as to *botch* does now) to do a thing imperfectly and awkwardly; and thence to *fail* or *miscarry* in an attempt. Cole, in his *Latin Dictionary*, 1679, renders—“ To botch or bungle, *opus corrumpere, disperdere.* ”

I suspect, however, with Dr. Johnson, that we should read—
We budg'd again. “ To *budge* ” Cole renders, *pedem referre*, to retreat: the precise sense required here. So, Coriolanus, speaking of his army who had *fled* from their adversaries:

“ The mouse ne'er shunn'd the cat, as they did *budge*
“ From rascals worse than they.” MALONE.

I believe that—we *bodg'd* only means, *we boggled, made bad or bungling work of our attempt to rally.* A low unskilful tailor is often called a *botcher*. STEEVENS.

Now Phaeton hath tumbled from his car,
And made an evening at the noontide prick.³

YORK. My ashes, as the phoenix, may bring forth
‘ A bird that will revenge upon you all :
‘ And, in that hope, I throw mine eyes to heaven,
Scorning whate’er you can afflict me with.
‘ Why come you not ? what ! multitudes, and fear ?

CLIF. So cowards fight, when they can fly no
further ;
‘ So doves do peck the falcon’s piercing talons ;
So desperate thieves, all hopeless of their lives,
Breathe out invectives ’gainst the officers.

YORK. O, Clifford, but bethink thee once again,
‘ And in thy thought o’er-run my former time :
* And, if thou canst for blushing, view this face ;
And bite thy tongue, that slanders him with cow-
ardice,
‘ Whose frown hath made thee faint and fly ere
this.

CLIF. I will not bandy with thee word for word ;
But buckle with thee blows, twice two for one.

[Draws.

Q. MAR. Hold, valiant Clifford ! for a thousand
causes,
I would prolong awhile the traitor’s life :—
Wrath makes him deaf : speak thou, Northumber-
land.

NORTH. Hold, Clifford ; do not honour him so
much,
To prick thy finger, though to wound his heart :

³ —— *noontide prick.*] Or, noontide point on the dial.
JOHNSON.

The same phrase occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II. sc. iv.
STEEVENS.

What valour were it, when a cur doth grin,
 For one to thrust his hand between his teeth,
 When he might spurn him with his foot away?
 It is war's prize⁴ to take all vantages;
 ' And ten to one is no impeach of valour.

[*They lay hands on YORK, who struggles.*

CLIF. Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock with the
 gin.

NORTH. So doth the coney struggle in the net.

[*YORK is taken prisoner.*

YORK. So triumph thieves upon their conquer'd
 booty;

So true men yield,⁵ with robbers so o'er-match'd.

NORTH. What would your grace have done unto
 him now?

Q. MAR. Brave warriors, Clifford, and Northum-
 berland,

Come make him stand upon this molehill here;

' That caught⁶ at mountains with outstretched
 arms,

⁴ *It is war's prize—*] Read—praise. WARBURTON.

I think the old reading right, which means, that all 'vantages
 are in war lawful prize; that is, may be lawfully taken and used.

JOHNSON.

To take all advantages, is rather to the discredit than to the
 praise of war, and therefore Warburton's amendment cannot be
 right; nor can I approve of Johnson's explanation;—it appears
 to me that it is *war's* prize, means merely that is the estimation
 of people at war; the settled opinion. M. MASON.

“ — dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?” Virg.
 MALONE.

⁵ *So true men yield,]* A true man has been already explained
 to be an honest man, as opposed to a thief. See Vol. VI. p. 349,
 n. 8. MALONE.

⁶ *That caught—*] i. e. That reach'd. The ancient preterite
 and participle passive of *reach*. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:
 “ The hand of death has caught him.” STEEVENS.

Yet parted but the shadow with his hand.—
 * What! was it you, that would be England's king?
 Was't you that revell'd in our parliament,
 And made a preachingment of your high descent?
 Where are your mess of sons to back you now?
 The wanton Edward, and the lusty George?
 * And where's that valiant crook-back prodigy,
 Dicky your boy, that, with his grumbling voice,
 Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies?
 Or, with the rest, where is your darling Rutland?
 Look, York; I stain'd this napkin⁷ with the blood
 That valiant Clifford, with his rapier's point,
 Made issue from the bosom of the boy:
 And, if thine eyes can water for his death,
 I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal.
 * Alas! poor York! but that I hate thee deadly,
 I should lament thy miserable state.
 I pr'ythee, grieve, to make me merry, York;
 Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may sing and dance.⁸
 What, hath thy fiery heart so parch'd thine entrails,
 That not a tear can fall for Rutland's death?
 * Why art thou patient, man? thou shouldst be
 mad;
 * And I, to make thee mad, do mock thee thus.
 Thou wouldst be fee'd, I see, to make me sport;
 York cannot speak, unless he wear a crown.—
 A crown for York;—and, lords, bow low to him.—

⁷ ——this napkin—] A *napkin* is a handkerchief.
 JOHNSON.

So, in *As you like it*: “To that youth he calls his Rosalind,
 he sends this bloody *napkin*.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *Stamp, rave, and fret, &c.*] I have placed this line as it stands in the old play. In the folio it is introduced, I believe, by the carelessness of the transcriber, some lines lower, after the words—“do mock thee thus;” where it appears to me out of its place. MALONE.

Hold you his hands, whilst I do set it on.—

[*Putting a paper Crown on his Head.*]

⁹ *Putting a paper Crown on his Head.*] Shakspeare has on this occasion deviated from history, if such of our English Chronicles as I have occasionally looked into, may be believed. According to these, the paper crown was not placed on the Duke of York's head till after it had been cut off. Rutland likewise was not killed by Clifford, till after his father's death. STEEVENS.

The ingenious commentator is most certainly mistaken. Shakspeare, so far from having deviated from history, has followed it with the utmost precision. Whethamstede expressly tells us, that the Lancastrians, in direct breach of a mutual agreement, and before the day appointed for the battle, fell suddenly upon the Duke's army, and took him and the Earl of Salisbury prisoners; treating both, but especially the Duke, in the most shameful manner: *Nam*, says he, *statuentes eum super unum parvum formicarium colliculum, et quoddam sertum vile, ex palustri gramine confectum, imponentes, per modum coronæ, super caput suum, non aliter quam Judæi coram domino incurvaverunt genua sua coram ipso, dicentes illusorie: Ave rex, sine regimine; ave rex, absque hereditate; ave dux et princeps, absque omni populo penitus et possessione.* *Ex hiis una cum aliis variis, in eum probrose opprobrioseque dictis, coegerunt ipsum demum per capitum abscissionem clameum relinquere suæ justiciæ vendicacionis,* p. 489. Not a single circumstance is omitted, or varied in the scene. It is not, however, imagined that Shakspeare had ever consulted Whethamstede: he found the same story no doubt in some old black letter Chronicle, or he might possibly have it from a popular tradition. RITSON.

According to Hall the paper crown was not placed on York's head till after he was dead; but Holinshed after giving Hall's narration of this business almost *verbatim*, adds:—“ Some write, that the Duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand upon a *mole-hill*, on whose heade they put a garland instead of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of segges or bulrushes, and having so crowned him with that garlante, they kneeled downe afore him, as the Jewes did to Christe in scorne, saying to him, hayle king without rule, hayle king without heritage, hayle duke and prince without people or possessions. And at length having thus scorned hym with these and dyverse other the like despitefull woordes, they stroke off his heade, which (as yee have heard) they presented to the queen.”

Both the chroniclers say, that the Earl of Rutland was killed

Ay, marry, sir, now looks he like a king !
 Ay, this is he that took king Henry's chair ;
 And this is he was his adopted heir.—
 But how is it that great Plantagenet
 Is crown'd so soon, and broke his solemn oath ?
 As I bethink me, you should not be king,
 Till our king Henry had shook hands with death.¹
 And will you pale² your head in Henry's glory,
 And rob his temples of the diadem,
 Now in his life, against your holy oath ?
 O, 'tis a fault too too unpardonable !—
 Off with the crown ; and, with the crown, his head ;
 And, whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead.³

CLIF. That is my office, for my father's sake.

Q. MAR. Nay, stay ; let's hear the orisons he makes.

YORK. She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,

‘ Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth !
 How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex,
 To triumph like an Amazonian trull,

by Clifford during the battle of Wakefield ; but it may be presumed that his father had first fallen. The Earl's tutor probably attempted to save him as soon as the rout began. MALONE.

¹ *Till our king Henry had shook hands with death.]* On York's return from Ireland, at a meeting of parliament it was settled, that Henry should enjoy the throne during his life, and that York should succeed him. See Hall, Henry VI. fol. 98. MALONE.

² *And will you pale—]* i. e. impale, encircle with a crown. MALONE.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra* :

“ Whate'er the ocean pales, or sky inclips.” STEEVENS.

³ *— to do him dead.]* To kill him. See Vol. VI. p. 170, n. 3. MALONE.

See this play, p. 53, n. 9. STEEVENS.

‘ Upon their woes,⁴ whom fortune captivates ?
 But that thy face is, visor-like, unchanging,
 Made impudent with use of evil deeds,
 I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush :
 To tell thee whence thou cam’st, of whom deriv’d,
 Were shame enough to shame thee, wert thou not
 shameless.

Thy father bears the type⁵ of king of Naples,
 Of both the Sicils, and Jerusalem ;
 Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman.
 Hath that poor monarch taught thee to insult ?
 It needs not, nor it boots thee not, proud queen ;
 Unless the adage must be verified,—
 That beggars, mounted, run their horse to death.
 ‘Tis beauty, that doth oft make women proud ;
 But, God he knows, thy share thereof is small :
 ‘Tis virtue, that doth make them most admir’d ;
 The contrary doth make thee wonder’d at :
 ‘Tis government, that makes them seem divine ;
 The want thereof makes thee abominable :
 Thou art as opposite to every good,
 As the Antipodes are unto us,
 Or as the south to the septentrion.⁷

⁴ Upon their woes,] So, the folio. The quarto reads—Upon his woes. STEEVENS.

⁵ — the type—] i. e. the distinguishing mark ; an obsolete use of the word. So again, in *King Richard III*:

“ The high imperial type of this earth’s glory.”

STEEVENS.

“ Tis government, that makes them seem divine ;] Government, in the language of that time, signified evenness of temper, and decency of manners. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Henry IV*. P. I. Falstaff says :

“ Let men say, we be men of good government.” STEEVENS.

? — septentrion.] i. e. the North. *Septentrio*, Lat. Milton uses the same word as an adjective :

“ — cold septentrion blasts.” STEEVENS.

O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide!⁸
 How could'st thou drain the life-blood of the child,
 To bid the father wipe his eyes withal,
 And yet be seen to bear a woman's face?
 Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible;
 'Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.
 'Bid'st thou me rage? why, now thou hast thy
 wish:⁹
 'Would'st have me weep? why, now thou hast thy
 will:
 'For raging wind blows up incessant showers,¹
 And, when the rage allays, the rain begins.²
 These tears are my sweet Rutland's obsequies;

** O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide!]* We find almost the same line in *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, 1600:

"O woolvish heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide!"

MALONE.

⁹ — thy wish: &c.] So the folio: The quarto reads—
 thy will in the first line, and thy wish in the second.

STEEVENS.

¹ *For raging wind blows up incessant showers,*] Thus the folio. The quartos read—

For raging winds blow up a storm of tears. STEEVENS.

² *Would'st have me weep? why, now thou hast thy will:*

For raging wind blows up incessant showers,

And, when the rage allays, the rain begins.] We meet with the same thought in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"This windy tempest, till it blows up rain,

"Held back his sorrow's tide, to make it more;

"At last it rains, and busy winds give o'er.

"Then son and father weep with equal strife,

"Who should weep most for daughter or for wife."

Again, in *Macbeth*:

"— that tears shall drown the wind."

Again, in *Troilus and Cressida*:

"Where are my tears? rain, rain, to lay this wind?"

Again, in *King John*:

"This shower, blown up by tempest of the soul—."

MALONE.

‘ And every drop cries vengeance for his death,³—
 ‘ ’Gainst thee, fell Clifford,—and thee, false French-woman.

NORTH. Beshrew me, but his passions move me so,
 That hardly can I check my eyes from tears.

YORK. That face of his the hungry cannibals
 Would not have touch’d, would not have stain’d
 with blood :⁴

But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,—

³ *And every drop cries vengeance for his death,*] So the folio.
 The quarto thus :

*And every drop begs vengeance as it falls,
 On thee, &c.* STEEVENS.

⁴ — *would not have stain’d with blood :*] Thus the first folio.
 STEEVENS.

— *would not have stain’d the roses just with blood :*] So the second folio nonsensically reads the passage ; but the old quarto, &c. of better authority, have it thus :

That face of his the hungry cannibals

Would not have touch’d, would not have stain’d with blood.

And this is sense. Could any one now have believed that an editor of common understanding should reject this, and fasten upon the nonsense of the later edition, only because it afforded matter of conjecture ? and yet Mr. Theobald will needs correct, *roses just with blood*, to *roses juic’d with blood*, that is, change one blundering editor’s nonsense for another’s. But if there ever was any meaning in the line, it was thus expressed :

Would not have stain’d the roses just in bud.

And this the Oxford editor hath espoused. WARBURTON.

As, without correction, the words—*the roses just*, do not make good sense, there is very little reason to suspect their being interpolated, and therefore it is most probable they were preserved among the players by memory. The correction is this :

That face of his the hungry cannibals

Would not have touch’d :

Would not have stain’d the roses just i’ th’ bloom.

The words [*the roses just*] were, I suppose, left out by the first editors, in order to get rid of the superfluous hemistich.

MUSGRAVE.

O, ten times more,—than tigers of Hyrcania.⁵
 See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears :
 This cloth thou dipp'dst in blood of my sweet boy,
 And I with tears do wash the blood away.
 Keep thou the napkin, and go boast of this :

[*He gives back the Handkerchief.*

And, if thou tell'st the heavy story right,
 Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears ;⁶
 Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears,
 And say,—Alas, it was a piteous deed !—
 There, take the crown, and, with the crown, my
 curse ;⁷

And, in thy need, such comfort come to thee,
 As now I reap at thy too cruel hand !—
 Hard-hearted Clifford, take me from the world ;
 My soul to heaven, my blood upon your heads !

NORTH. Had he been slaughter-man to all my
 kin,
 ‘ I should not for my life but weep with him,
 To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.⁸

⁵ —— of Hyrcania.] So the folio. The quartos read—of
Arcadia. STEEVENS.

⁶ *And, if thou tell'st the heavy story right,*
Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears ;] So, in *King Richard II.*:

“ Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,
 “ And send the hearers weeping to their beds.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *There, take the crown, and, with the crown, my curse ;]* Rowe has transferred this execration to his dying Hengist in *The Royal Convert*:

“ ——— wear my crown ;
 “ Take it, and be as curs'd with it as I was.”

STEEVENS.

⁸ *I should not for my life but weep with him,*
To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.] So the folio. The quartos as follows:

“ I could not choose but weep with him, to see
 “ How inward anger gripes his heart.” STEEVENS.

Q. MAR. What, weeping-ripe, my lord Northumberland?

Think but upon the wrong he did us all,
And that will quickly dry thy melting tears.

CLIF. Here's for my oath, here's for my father's death. [Stabbing him.]

Q. MAR. And here's to right our gentle-hearted king.⁹ [Stabbing him.]

YORK. Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God!
My soul flies through these wounds to seek out thee. [Dies.]

Q. MAR. Off with his head, and set it on York gates;
So York may overlook the town of York.¹

[*Exeunt.*]

⁹ *And here's to right our gentle-hearted king.]* So the folio. The quarto thus:

“And there's to right our gentle harted kind.”

Of these variations there are many, but it is useless labour to enumerate them all. STEEVENS.

¹ *So York may overlook &c.]* This gallant nobleman fell by his own imprudence, in consequence of leading an army of only five thousand men to engage with twenty thousand, and not waiting for the arrival of his son the Earl of March, with a large body of Welshmen. He and Cicely his wife, with his son Edmund Earl of Rutland, were originally buried in the chancel of Foderingay church; and (as Peacham informs us in his *Complete Gentleman*, 4to. 1627,) “when the chancel in that furie of knocking churches and sacred monuments in the head, was also felled to the ground,” they were removed into the churchyard; and afterwards “lapped in lead they were buried in the church by the commandment of Queen Elizabeth; and a mean monument of plaister wrought with the trowel erected over them, very homely, and far unfitting so noble princes.”

“I remember, (adds the same writer,) Master Creuse, a gentleman and my worthy friend, who dwelt in the college at the same time, told me, that their coffins being opened, their bodies appeared very plainly to be discerned, and withal that the dutchess

ACT II. SCENE I.

A Plain near Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire.

Drums. Enter EDWARD, and RICHARD, with their Forces, marching.

* *EDW.* I wonder, how our princely father 'scap'd;
* Or whether he be 'scap'd away, or no,
* From Clifford's and Northumberland's pursuit;
* Had he been ta'en, we should have heard the news;
Had he been slain, we should have heard the news;
* Or, had he 'scap'd, methinks, we should have heard
* The happy tidings of his good escape.—
‘ How fares my brother? ² why is he so sad ?

RICH. I cannot joy, until I be resolv'd
Where our right valiant father is become.

Cicely had about her necke, hanging in a silke ribband, a pardon from Rome, which, penned in a very fine Roman hand, was as faire and fresh to be read, as it had been written yesterday.” This *pardon* was probably a dispensation which the Duke procured, from the oath of allegiance that he had sworn to Henry in St. Paul's church on the 10th of March, 1452. MALONE.

* *How fares my brother?*] This scene in the old quartos begins thus:

“ After this dangerous fight and hapless war,
“ How doth my noble brother Richard fare ?”

Had the author taken the trouble to revise his play, he hardly would have begun the first Act and the second with almost the same exclamation, expressed in almost the same words. Warwick opens the scene with—

“ I wonder, how the king escap'd our hands.”

STEEVENS.

‘ I saw him in the battle range about ;
 ‘ And watch’d him, how he singled Clifford forth.
 ‘ Methought, he bore him³ in the thickest troop,
 As doth a lion in a herd of neat :
 * Or as a bear, encompass’d round with dogs ;
 * Who having pinch’d a few, and made them cry,
 * The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him.
 * So far’d our father with his enemies ;
 ‘ So fled his enemies my warlike father ;
 ‘ Methinks, ’tis prize enough to be his son.⁴
 See, how the morning opes her golden gates,
 And takes her farewell of the glorious sun !⁵
 * How well resembles it the prime of youth,
 * Trimm’d like a younker, prancing to his love !

EDW. Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns?⁶

RICH. Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun;

³ *Methought, he bore him—*] i. e. he demeaned himself. So, in *Measure for Measure* :

“ How I may formally in person *bear me—*.” MALONE.

⁴ *Methinks, ’tis prize enough to be his son.]* The old quarto reads—*pride*, which is right, for *ambition*, i. e. We need not aim at any higher glory than this. WARBURTON.

I believe *prize* is the right word. Richard’s sense is, though we have missed the *prize* for which we fought, we have yet an honour left that may content us. JOHNSON.

Prize, if it be the true reading, I believe, here means *privilege*. So, in the former Act :

“ It is war’s *prize* to take all ’vantages.” MALONE.

⁵ *And takes her farewell of the glorious sun !]* Aurora takes for a time her farewell of the sun, when she dismisses him to his diurnal course. JOHNSON.

⁶ — *do I see three suns ?]* This circumstance is mentioned both by Hall and Holinshed : “ — at which tyme the *son* (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like *three sunnes*, and sodainely joyned altogether in one, uppon whiche sight hee tooke such courage, that he fiercely setting on his enemyes put them to flight ; and for this cause menne ymagined that he gave the sun in his full bryghtnesse for his badge or cognisance.” These are the words of Holinshed. MALONE.

Not separated with the racking clouds,⁷
 But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.
 See, see! they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,
 As if they vow'd some league inviolable:
 Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.
 In this the heaven figures some event.

* *EDW.* 'Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never
 heard of.

I think, it cites us, brother, to the field;
 That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet,
 • Each one already blazing by our meeds,⁸
 Should, notwithstanding, join our lights together,
 • And over-shine the earth, as this the world.
 • Whate'er it bodes, henceforward will I bear
 Upon my target three fair shining suns.

* *RICH.* Nay, bear three daughters;—by your
 leave I speak it,
* You love the breeder better than the male.

⁷ —— *the racking clouds,*] i.e. the clouds in rapid tumultuary motion. So, in *The Raigne of King Edward III.* 1596:

“ —— like inconstant clouds

“ *That, rack'd upon the carriage of the winds,*

“ *Encrease” &c.* STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's 32d Sonnet:

“ Anon permit the basest *clouds* to ride

“ With ugly *rack* on his celestial face.” MALONE.

⁸ —— *blazing by our meeds,*] Illustrious and shining by the armorial ensigns granted us as *meeds* of our great exploits. *Meed* likewise is *merit*. It might be plausibly read:

— *blazing by our deeds.* JOHNSON.

Johnson's first explanation of this passage is not right. *Meed* here means *merit*.

So, in the fourth Act, the King says:

“ *My meed hath got me fame.”*

And in *Timon of Athens* the word is used in the same sense:

“ — *No meed but he repays*

“ *Sevenfold above itself.” M. MASON.*

Enter a Messenger.

- ‘ But what art thou, whose heavy looks foretel
 ‘ Some dreadful story hanging on thy tongue ?

MESS. Ah, one that was a woful looker on,
 When as the noble duke of York was slain,
 * Your princely father, and my loving lord.

‘ *EDW.* O, speak no more !⁹ for I have heard too
 much.¹

‘ *RICH.* Say how he died, for I will hear it all.

‘ *MESS.* Environed he was with many foes ;²

⁹ *O, speak no more !*] The generous tenderness of Edward, and savage fortitude of Richard, are well distinguished by their different reception of their father's death. JOHNSON.

¹ —— *for I have heard too much.*] So the folio. The quartos thus :

“ —— for I can hear no more.

“ *Rich.* Tell on thy tale,” &c. STEEVENS.

² *Environed he was with many foes ;*] Thus, in the old play :

“ O, one that was a woeful looker on,

“ When as the noble duke of York was slain.—

“ When as the noble duke was put to flight,

“ And then persuadē by Clifford and the queene,

“ And many soldiers moe, who all at once

“ Let drive at him, and forst the duke to yield ;

“ And then they set him on a moul-hill there,

“ And crown'd the gracious duke in high despight ;

“ Who then with tears began to wail his fall.

“ The ruthlesse queene perceiving he did weepe,

“ Gave him a handkerchief to wipe his eyes,

“ Dipt in the bloud of sweete young Rutland, by

“ Rough Clifford slaine ; who weeping tooke it up :

“ Then through his brest they thrust their bloudie swords,

“ Who like a lambe fell at the butcher's feate.

“ Then on the gates of Yorke they set his head,

“ And there it doth remaine the piteous spectacle

“ That ere mine eyes beheld.” MALONE.

* And stood against them as the hope of Troy³
 * Against the Greeks, that would have enter'd Troy.
 * But Hercules himself must yield to odds ;
 * And many strokes, though with a little axe,
 * Hew down and fell the hardest-timber'd oak.
 ' By many hands your father was subdu'd ;
 ' But only slaughter'd by the ireful arm
 ' Of unrelenting Clifford, and the queen :
 ' Who crown'd the gracious duke in high despite ;
 ' Laugh'd in his face ; and, when with grief he
 wept,
 ' The ruthless queen gave him, to dry his cheeks,
 ' A napkin steeped in the harmless blood
 ' Of sweet young Rutland, by rough Clifford slain :
 ' And, after many scorns, many foul taunts,
 ' They took his head, and on the gates of York
 ' They set the same ; and there it doth remain,
 ' The saddest spectacle that e'er I view'd.

EDW. Sweet duke of York, our prop to lean
 upon ;

* Now thou art gone, we have no staff, no stay !—
 * O Clifford, boist'rous Clifford, thou hast slain
 * The flower of Europe for his chivalry ;
 * And treacherously hast thou vanquish'd him,
 * For, hand to hand, he would have vanquish'd
 thee !—

Now my soul's palace is become a prison :
 Ah, would she break from hence ! that this my
 body

' Might in the ground be closed up in rest :
 ' For never henceforth shall I joy again,
 ' Never, O never, shall I see more joy.

' *RICH.* I cannot weep ; for all my body's moisture

³ —— *the hope of Troy*—] Hector. MALONE.

Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart:
 * Nor can my tongue unload my heart's great bur-
 den;

* For self-same wind, that I should speak withal,
 * Is kindling coals, that fire all my breast,
 * And burn me up with flames,⁴ that tears would
 quench.

* To weep, is to make less the depth of grief:⁵
 * Tears, then, for babes; blows, and revenge, for
 me!—

‘ Richard, I bear thy name, I'll venge thy death,
 ‘ Or die renowned by attempting it.

EDW. His name that valiant duke hath left with
 thee;

‘ His dukedom and his chair with me is left.⁶

RICH. Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
 Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun:⁷

⁴ *And burn me up with flames, &c.]* So, in *King John*:

“ France, I am burn'd up with consuming wrath,” &c.

STEEVENS.

⁵ *To weep, &c.]* Here, in the original play, instead of these
 two lines, we have—

“ I cannot joy, till this white rose be dy'd

“ Even in the heart-blood of the house of Lancaster.”

MALONE.

⁶ *His dukedom and his chair with me is left.]* So the folio.
 The quarto thus:

“ His chair, and dukedom, that remains for me.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun:]* So, in Spenser's
Hymn of Heavenly Beauty:

“ — like the native brood of eagle's kind,

“ On that bright sun of glory fix thine eyes.”

Again, in *Solyman and Perseda*:

“ As air-bred eagles, if they once perceive

“ That any of their brood but close their sight,

“ When they should gaze against the glorious sun;

“ They straitway seize upon him with their talons,

For chair and dukedom, throne and kingdom say;
Either that is thine, or else thou wert not his.

March. Enter Warwick and Montague, with Forces.⁸

War. How now, fair lords? What fare? what news abroad?

‘ *RICH.* Great lord of Warwick, if we should recount

Our baleful news, and, at each word’s deliverance,
Stab poniards in our flesh till all were told,
The words would add more anguish than the wounds.
O valiant lord, the duke of York is slain.

EDW. O Warwick! Warwick! that Plantagenet,
Which held thee dearly, as his soul’s redemption,
Is by the stern lord Clifford done to death.⁹

“ That on the earth it may untimely die,
“ For looking but askew at heaven’s bright eye.”

STEEVENS.

* *Enter Warwick &c.]* This meeting was at Chipping-Norton.
W. Wyrcester, p. 488. RITSON.

⁹ *Is by the stern lord Clifford done to death.] Done to death* for killed, was a common expression long before Shakspeare’s time. Thus Chaucer:

“ And seide, that if ye done us both to dien.” GRAY.

Spenser mentions a plague “ which many did to dye.”
JOHNSON.

Faire mourir, a French phrase. So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594 :

“ We understand that he was done to death.”

Again, *ibid.*:

“ —— done to death with many a mortal wound.”

Again, in *Orlando Furioso*, 1599 :

“ I am the man that did the slave to death.”

STEEVENS.

WAR. Ten days ago I drown'd these news in tears :

And now, to add more measure to your woes,
I come to tell you things since then befall'n.
After the bloody fray at Wakefield fought,
Where your brave father breath'd his latest gasp,
Tidings, as swiftly as the posts could run,
Were brought me of your loss, and his depart.
I then in London, keeper of the king,
Muster'd my soldiers, gather'd flocks of friends,
And very well appointed, as I thought,¹
March'd towards Saint Alban's to intercept the queen,

Bearing the king in my behalf along :
For by my scouts I was advértised,
That she was coming with a full intent
To dash our late decree in parliament,
‘ Touching king Henry's oath, and your succession.
Short tale to make,—we at Saint Alban's met,
Our battles join'd, and both sides fiercely fought:
But, whether 'twas the coldness of the king,
Who look'd full gently on his warlike queen,
That robb'd my soldiers of their hated spleen ;
Or whether 'twas report of her success ;
Or more than common fear of Clifford's rigour,
‘ Who thunders to his captives²—blood and death,
I cannot judge : but, to conclude with truth,
Their weapons like to lightning came and went ;
Our soldiers’—like the night-owl's lazy flight,³

¹ *And very well &c.]* This necessary line I have restored from the old quartos. STEEVENS.

² — *to his captives—]* So the folio. The old play reads—*captaines.* MALONE.

³ — *like the night-owl's lazy flight,]* This image is not very congruous to the subject, nor was it necessary to the comparison, which is happily enough completed by the thrasher. JOHNSON.

‘ Or like a lazy thrasher with a flail,⁴—
 Fell gently down, as if they struck their friends.
 I cheer’d them up with justice of our cause,
 With promise of high pay, and great rewards :
 But all in vain ; they had no heart to fight,
 And we, in them, no hope to win the day,
 So that we fled; the king, unto the queen ;
 Lord George your brother, Norfolk, and myself,
 In haste, post-haste, are come to join with you ;
 For in the marches here, we heard, you were,
 Making another head to fight again.

‘ *EDW.*⁵ Where is the duke of Norfolk, gentle Warwick ?

Dr. Johnson objects to this comparison as incongruous to the subject; but I think, unjustly. Warwick compares the languid blows of his soldiers, to the lazy strokes which the wings of the owl give to the air in its flight, which is remarkably slow.

M. MASON.

‘ *Or like a lazy thrasher—*] The old play more elegantly reads—Or like an *idle* thrasher, &c. MALONE.

⁵ *Edw. &c.]* The exact ages of the Duke of York’s children, introduced in the present play, will best prove how far our author has, either intentionally or otherwise, deviated, in this particular, from historical truth.

Edward, Earl of March, afterwards Duke of York, and King of England, his *second* son, was born at Rouen, on Monday the 27th or 28th of April, 1442; Edmund, Earl of Rutland, his *third* son, at the same place, on Monday the 17th of May, 1443; George of York, afterwards Duke of Clarence, his *sixth* son, in Dublin, on Tuesday the 21st of October, 1449; and Richard of York, afterwards Duke of Gloster, and King of England, his *eighth* son, at Fotheringay, on Monday the 2d of October, 1452; Henry, the *first* son, born in 1441, William, the *fourth*, in 1447, John, the *fifth*, in 1448, and Thomas, the *seventh*, in 1451, died young. He had likewise four daughters. The battle of Wakefield was fought the 29th of December, 1460, when Edward, of course, was in his *nineteenth* year, Rutland in his *eighteenth*, George in his *twelfth*, and Richard in his *ninth*.

RITSON.

And when came George from Burgundy to England ?

• *WAR.* Some six miles off the duke is with the soldiers :

And for your brother,—he was lately sent
From your kind aunt, duchess of Burgundy,
‘ With aid of soldiers to this needful war.⁶

RICH. ’Twas odds, belike, when valiant Warwick fled :

Oft have I heard his praises in pursuit,
But ne’er, till now, his scandal of retire.

WAR. Nor now my scandal, Richard, dost thou hear :

For thou shalt know, this strong right hand of mine
Can pluck the diadem from faint Henry’s head,
And wring the awful scepter from his fist ;
Were he as famous and as bold in war,
As he is fam’d for mildness, peace, and prayer.

RICH. I know it well, lord Warwick : blame me not ;

’Tis love, I bear thy glories, makes me speak.
But, in this troublous time, what’s to be done ?
Shall we go throw away our coats of steel,

• *Edw.* ——when came George from Burgundy to England?

War. ——he was lately sent

From your kind aunt, duchess of Burgundy,

With aid of soldiers to this needful war.] This circumstance is not warranted by history. Clarence and Gloster (as they were afterwards created) were sent into Flanders immediately after the battle of Wakefield, and did not return until their brother Edward got possession of the crown. Besides, Clarence was not now more than twelve years old.

Isabel, Duchess of Burgundy, whom Shakspeare calls the Duke’s aunt, was daughter of John I. King of Portugal, by Philippa of Lancaster, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt. They were, therefore, no more than third cousins. RITSON.

And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns,
Numb'ring our Ave-Maries with our beads?
Or shall we on the helmets of our foes
Tell our devotion with revengeful arms?
If for the last, say—Ay, and to it, lords.

WAR. Why, therefore Warwick came to seek
you out;

And therefore comes my brother Montague.
Attend me, lords. The proud insulting queen,
With Clifford, and the haught Northumberland,⁷
And of their feather, many more proud birds,
Have wrought the easy-melting king like wax.⁸
He swore consent to your succession,
His oath enrolled in the parliament;
And now to London all the crew are gone,
To frustrate both his oath, and what beside
May make against the house of Lancaster.
‘ Their power, I think, is thirty thousand strong:⁹

⁷ — haught Northumberland,] So, Grafton in his *Chronicle* says, p. 417: “ — the lord Henry Percy, whom the Scottes for his *haut* and valiant courage called sir Henry Hotspurre.”

PERCY.

The word is common to many writers. So, in Marlowe’s *King Edward II.* 1598:

“ This *haught* resolve becomes your majesty.”

Again, in Kyd’s *Cornelia*, 1594:

“ Pompey, that second Mars, whose *haught* renown,” &c.

Again, in Lylly’s *Woman in the Moon*, 1597:

“ Thy mind as *haught* as Jupiter’s high thoughts.”

STEEVENS.

⁸ — the easy-melting king like wax.] So again, in this play, of the *Lady Grey*:

“ As red as fire; nay, then her *wax* must melt.”

JOHNSON.

⁹ — is thirty thousand strong:] Thus the folio. The old play reads—

“ Their power, I guess them *fiftie* thousand strong.”

A little lower the same piece has—*eight and forty thousand*.

MALONE.

Now, if the help of Norfolk, and myself,
 With all the friends that thou, brave earl of March,
 Amongst the loving Welshmen canst procure,
 ' Will but amount to five and twenty thousand,
 Why, *Via!* to London will we march amain ;
 And once again bestride our foaming steeds,
 ' And once again cry—Charge upon our foes !
 But never once again turn back, and fly.

RICH. Ay, now, methinks, I hear great Warwick
 speak :

Ne'er may he live to see a sunshine day,
 ' That cries—Retire, if Warwick bid him stay.

EDW. Lord Warwick, on thy shoulder will I
 lean ;
 ' And when thou fall'st, (as God forbid the hour !)
 Must Edward fall, which peril heaven forefend !

WAR. No longer earl of March, but duke of
 York ;
 ' The next degree is, England's royal throne :
 For king of England shalt thou be proclaim'd
 In every borough as we pass along ;
 And he that throws not up his cap for joy,
 ' Shall for the fault make forfeit of his head.
 King Edward,—valiant Richard,—Montague,—
 Stay we no longer dreaming of renown,
 ' But sound the trumpets, and about our task.

* *RICH.* Then, Clifford, were thy heart as hard
 as steel,

* (As thou hast shown it—flinty by thy deeds,) * I come to pierce it,—or to give thee mine.

* *EDW.* Then strike up, drums ;—God, and Saint
 George, for us !

Enter a Messenger.

WAR. How now? what news?

MESS. The duke of Norfolk sends you word by
me,

The queen is coming with a puissant host;
And craves your company for speedy counsel.

‘ *WAR.* Why then it sorts,¹ brave warriors: Let’s
away. [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E II.

Before York.

*Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, the Prince
of Wales, CLIFFORD, and NORTHUMBERLAND,
with Forces.*

Q. MAR. Welcome, my lord, to this brave town
of York.

Yonder’s the head of that arch-enemy,
That sought to be encompass’d with your crown:
‘ Doth not the object cheer your heart, my lord?

‘ *K. HEN.* Ay, as the rocks cheer them that fear
their wreck;—

To see this sight, it irks my very soul.—

Withhold revenge, dear God! ’tis not my fault,
Not wittingly have I infring’d my vow.

¹ *Why then it sorts,*] Why then things are as they should be.
JOHNSON.

So, in Greene’s *Card of Fancy*, 1608: “ —thy love shall
sort to such happy success as thou thyself dost seek for.”

STEEVENS.

CLIF. My gracious liege, this too much lenity
 And harmful pity, must be laid aside.
 To whom do lions cast their gentle looks ?
 Not to the beast that would usurp their den.
 Whose hand is that, the forest bear doth lick ?
 Not his, that spoils her young before her face.
 Who 'scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting ?
 Not he, that sets his foot upon her back.
 The smallest worm will turn, being trodden on ;
 ' And doves will peck, in safeguard² of their brood.
 Ambitious York did level at thy crown,
 Thou smiling, while he knit his angry brows :
 He, but a duke, would have his son a king,
 And raise his issue, like a loving sire ;
 Thou, being a king, bless'd with a goodly son,
 Didst yield consent to disinherit him,
 ' Which argued thee a most unloving father.³
 Unreasonable creatures feed their young :
 And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,
 Yet, in protection of their tender ones,
 Who hath not seen them (even with those wings
 ' Which sometime they have us'd with fearful
 flight,))
 Make war with him that climb'd unto their nest,
 Offering their own lives in their young's defence ?
 For shame, my liege, make them your precedent !
 Were it not pity that this goodly boy
 Should lose his birthright by his father's fault ;
 And long hereafter say unto his child,—
What my great-grandfather and grandsire got,
My careless father fondly⁴ gave away ?

² — *in safeguard* —] Thus the folio. The quartos read *in rescue*. STEEVENS.

³ — *unloving father.*] The quartos read *unnatural father*.
 STEEVENS.

⁴ — *fondly* —] i. e. foolishly. So, in *King Richard II*:

Ah, what a shame were this ! Look on the boy ;
 And let his manly face, which promiseth
 Successful fortune, steel thy melting heart,
 To hold thine own, and leave thine own with him.

K. Hen. Full well hath Clifford play'd the orator,

Inferring arguments of mighty force.

‘ But, Clifford, tell me, didst thou never hear,—
 That things ill got had ever bad success ?⁵

And happy always was it for that son,
 Whose father⁶ for his hoarding went to hell ?

I'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind ;
 And 'would, my father had left me no more !

For all the rest is held at such a rate,

‘ As brings a thousand-fold more care to keep,

‘ Than in possession any jot of pleasure.⁷

Ah, cousin York ! 'would thy best friends did know,

‘ How it doth grieve me that thy head is here !

‘ *Q. Mar.* My lord, cheer up your spirits ; our
 foes are nigh,

‘ And this soft courage makes your followers faint.

‘ You promis'd knighthood to our forward son ;

“ — sorrow and grief of heart

“ Makes him speak fondly—.” STEEVENS.

⁵ — didst thou never hear,—

That things ill got had ever bad success ? &c.] The proverb quoted by his majesty on this occasion, seems to militate directly against his own argument, and shows that things ill got might have good success. M. MASON.

‘ *Whose father &c.]* Alluding to a common proverb :

“ Happy the child whose father went to the devil.”

JOHNSON.

‘ *Than in possession any jot of pleasure.]* Thus the folio. The quarto thus :

“ Than may the present profit countervale.”

STEEVENS.

‘ Unsheathe your sword, and dub him presently.—Edward, kneel down.

K. Hen. Edward Plantagenet, arise a knight ;
And learn this lesson,—Draw thy sword in right.

PRINCE. My gracious father, by your kingly
leave,

I’ll draw it as apparent to the crown,
And in that quarrel use it to the death.

CLIF. Why, that is spoken like a toward prince.

Enter a Messenger.

MESS. Royal commanders, be in readiness :
‘ For, with a band of thirty thousand⁸ men,
Comes Warwick, backing of the duke of York ;
And, in the towns as they do march along,
Proclaims him king, and many fly to him :
‘ Darraign⁹ your battle, for they are at hand.

CLIF. I would, your highness would depart the
field ;
The queen¹ hath best success when you are absent.

⁸ —— *thirty thousand* —] The quarto reads *fifty thousand*.
STEEVENS.

⁹ *Darraign* —] That is, *Range* your host, put your host in
order. JOHNSON.

Chaucer, Skelton, and Spenser, use this word.

Thus also, in *Guy Earl of Warwick, a Tragical History*,
1661 :

“ *Darraign* our battles, and begin the fight.”
The quartos read—*Prepare your battles, &c.* STEEVENS.

¹ *I would, your highness would depart the field ;*

The queen &c.] This superstitious belief, relative to the for-
tunes of our unhappy prince, is yet more circumstantially intro-
duced by Drayton in *The Miseries of Queen Margaret* :

Q. MAR. Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune.

K. HEN. Why, that's my fortune too; therefore I'll stay.

NORTH. Be it with resolution then to fight.

PRINCE. My royal father, cheer these noble lords,

And hearten those that fight in your defence:

Unsheath your sword, good father; cry, *Saint George!*

March. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD, WARWICK, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, and Soldiers.

‘ *EDW.* Now, perjur'd Henry! wilt thou kneel for grace,

‘ And set thy diadem upon my head;

* Or bide the mortal fortune of the field?

Q. MAR. Go, rate thy minions, proud insulting boy!

‘ Becomes it thee to be thus bold in terms,

‘ Before thy sovereign, and thy lawful king?

“ Some think that *Warwick* had not lost the day,

“ But that the king into the field he brought;

“ For with the worse that side went still away

“ Which had king *Henry* with them when they fought:

“ Upon his birth so sad a curse there lay,

“ As that he never prospered in aught.

“ The queen wan two, among the loss of many,

“ Her husband absent; present, never any.”

STEEVENS.

So, Hall: “ Happy was the queene in her two battayls, but unfortunate was the king in al his enterprises; for where his person was present, the victorie fledde ever from him to the other parte.” Henry VI. fol. C. MALONE.

EDW. I am his king, and he should bow his knee;

I was adopted heir by his consent:

Since when, his oath is broke;² for, as I hear,
You—that are king, though he do wear the crown,—
Have caus'd him, by new act of parliament,
‘ To blot out me, and put his own son in.

‘ *CLIF.* And reason too;

Who should succeed the father, but the son?

‘ *RICH.* Are you there, butcher?—O, I cannot speak!

‘ *CLIF.* Ay, crook-back; here I stand, to answer thee,

‘ Or any he the proudest of thy sort.

RICH. ’Twas you that kill'd young Rutland, was it not?

² *I am his king, and he should bow his knee;*

I was adopted heir by his consent:

Since when, his oath is broke;] Edward's argument is founded on the following article in the compact entered into by Henry and the Duke of York, which the author found in Hall's Chronicle, but which I believe made no part of that agreement: “ Provided alwaye, that if the king did closely or apertly studye or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compass or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde duke or his bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the duke of Yorke to take it.” If this had been one of the articles of the compact, the Duke having been killed at Wakefield, his eldest son would have now a title to the crown. MALONE.

Since when, &c.] The quartos give the remainder of this speech to Clarence, and read:

To blot our brother out, &c. STEEVENS.

Here is another variation of the same kind with those which have been noticed in the preceding play, which could not have arisen from a transcriber or printer.—Though Shakspeare gave the whole of this speech to Edward by substituting *me* for *brother*, the same division which is found in the quarto, is inadvertently retained in the folio. MALONE.

CLIF. Ay, and old York, and yet not satisfied.

RICH. For God's sake, lords, give signal to the fight.

WAR. What say'st thou, Henry, wilt thou yield the crown?

‘ *Q. MAR.* Why, how now, long-tongu'd Warwick? dare you speak?

When you and I met at Saint Alban's last,
Your legs did better service than your hands.³

WAR. Then 'twas my turn to fly, and now 'tis thine.

CLIF. You said so much before, and yet you fled.

WAR. 'Twas not your valour, Clifford, drove me thence.

‘ *NORTH.* No, nor your manhood, that durst make you stay.

RICH. Northumberland, I hold thee reverently;—

Break off the parle; for scarce I can refrain
The execution of my big-swoln heart
Upon that Clifford, that cruel child-killer.

CLIF. I slew thy father: Call'st thou him a child?

RICH. Ay, like a dastard, and a treacherous coward,

As thou didst kill our tender brother Rutland;
But, ere sun-set, I'll make thee curse the deed.

K. HEN. Have done with words, my lords, and hear me speak.

³ Your legs did better service than your hands.] An allusion to the proverb: “ One pair of heels is worth two pair of hands.” STEEVENS.

Q. MAR. Defy them then, or else hold close thy lips.

K. HEN. I pr'ythee, give no limits to my tongue; I am a king, and privileg'd to speak.

CLIF. My liege, the wound, that bred this meeting here,

Cannot be cur'd by words; therefore be still.

RICH. Then, executioner, unsheathe thy sword: By him that made us all, I am resolv'd,⁴
‘ That Clifford's manhood lies upon his tongue.

‘ *EDW.* Say, Henry, shall I have my right, or no? A thousand men have broke their fasts to-day, That ne'er shall dine, unless thou yield the crown.

WAR. If thou deny, their blood upon thy head; For York in justice puts his armour on.

‘ *PRINCE.* If that be right, which Warwick says is right,

There is no wrong, but every thing is right.

RICH. Whoever got thee,⁵ there thy mother stands; For, well I wot, thou hast thy mother's tongue.

Q. MAR. But thou art neither like thy sire, nor dam; But like a foul misshapen stigmatick,⁶

⁴ —— *I am resolv'd,*] It is my firm persuasion; I am no longer in doubt. JOHNSON.

⁵ Rich. *Whoever got thee, &c.*] In the folio this speech is erroneously assigned to Warwick. The answer shows that it belongs to Richard, to whom it is attributed in the old play.

MALONE.

⁶ —— *misshapen stigmatick,*] “A *stigmatic*,” says J. Bullock in his *English Expositor*, 1616, “is a notorious lewd fellow, which hath been burnt with a hot iron, or beareth other marks about him as a token of his punishment.”

Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided,
 ‘ As venom toads, or lizards’ dreadful stings.⁷

RICH. Iron of Naples, hid with English gilt,⁸
 Whose father bears the title of a king,
 (As if a channel should be call’d the sea,⁹)

The word is likewise used in Drayton’s Epistle from *Q. Margaret to W. de la Poole*:

“ That foul, ill favour’d, crook-back’d *stigmatick*.¹⁰”

Again, in Drayton’s Epistle from *King John to Matilda*:

“ These for the crook’d, the halt, the *stigmatick*.¹¹”

STEEVENS.

⁷ — *lizards’ dreadful stings.*] Thus the folio. The quartos have this variation:

“ — or *lizards’ fainting looks.*¹²”

This is the second time that Shakspeare has armed the lizard (which in reality has no such defence) with a sting; but great powers seem to have been imputed to its looks. So, in *Noah’s Flood*, by Drayton:

“ The *lizard* shuts up his *sharp-sighted eyes*,¹³

“ Amongst the serpents, and there sadly lies.”

STEEVENS.

Shakspeare is here answerable for the introduction of the lizard’s sting; but in a preceding passage, Vol. XIII. p. 298, the author of the old play has fallen into the same mistake.

MALONE.

⁸ — *gilt,*] *Gilt* is a superficial covering of gold.

So, in *King Henry V*:

“ Our gayness and our *gilt* are all besmirch’d.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ (*As if a channel should be call’d the sea,*)] A *channel*, in our author’s time, signified what we now call a *kennel*. So, in Stowe’s *Chronicle*, quarto, 1605, p. 1148: “ — such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long time could not be remembered; where-through, the *channels* of the citie suddenly rising,” &c. Again, in *King Henry IV. P. II*: “ — quoit him into the *channel*.¹⁴” MALONE.

Kennel is still pronounced *channel* in the North. So, in Marlowe’s *Edward II*:

“ Throw off his golden mitre, rend his stole,

“ And in the *channel* christen him anew.”

‘ Sham’st thou not, knowing whence thou art ex-traught,

‘ To let thy tongue detect¹ thy base-born heart ?

EDW. A wisp of straw² were worth a thousand crowns,

Again :

“ Here’s channel water, as our charge is given.”

Again :

“ To which the channels of the castle run.” RITSON.

¹ *To let thy tongue detect—*] To show thy meanness of birth by the indecency of language with which thou railest at my deformity. JOHNSON.

To let thy tongue detect thy base-born heart ?] So the folio. The quartos :

“ To parly thus with England’s lawful heirs.”

STEEVENS.

² *A wisp of straw—*] I suppose, for an instrument of correction that might disgrace, but not hurt her. JOHNSON.

I believe that a *wisp* signified some instrument of correction used in the time of Shakspeare. The following instance seems to favour the supposition. See *A Woman never Vexed*, a comedy by Rowley, 1632 :

“ Nay, worse ; I’ll stain thy ruff; nay, worse than that,

“ I’ll do thus—” [Holds up a wisp.

“ — dost wisp me thou tatterdemallion ?”

Again, in Marston’s *Dutch Courtezan*, 1604 :

“ Thou little more than a dwarf, and something less than a woman !

“ Cris. *A wispe ! a wispe ! a wispe !*”

Barrett, in his *Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580, interprets the word *wispe* by *peniculus* or *σπόργος*, which signify any thing to wipe or cleanse with ; a cook’s linen apron, &c. Pewter is still scoured by a *wispe of straw*, or *hay*. Perhaps Edward means one of these *wisps*, as the denotement of a menial servant. Barrett adds, that, like a *wase*, it signifies “ a wreath to be laied under the vessel that is borne upon the head, as women use.” If this be its true sense, the Prince may think that such a *wisp* would better become the head of Margaret, than a *crown*.

It appears, however, from the following passage in Thomas Drant’s translation of the seventh satire of Horace, 1567, that a *wispe* was the punishment of a scold :

To make this shameless callet know herself.³—

* Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou,

* Although thy husband may be Menelaus;⁴

* And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd

“ So perfyte and exacte a scoulde that women mighte
geve place

“ Whose tatling tongues had won a *wispe*,” &c.

STEEVENS.

See also, Nashe's *Apology of Pierce Pennilesse*, 1593 : “ Why, thou errant butter-whore, thou cotquean and scrattop of *scolds*, wilt thou never leave afflicting a dead carcasse? continually read the rhetorick lecture of Ramme-Alley? a *wispe*, a *wispe*, you kitchen-stuffe wrangler.” Again, in *A Dialogue between John and Jone, striving who shall wear the Breeches*,—PLEASURES OF POETRY, bl. l. no date :

“ Good gentle Jone, with-holde thy hands,

“ This once let me entreat thee,

“ And make me promise, never more

“ That thou shalt mind to beat me;

“ For feare thou weare the *wispe*, good wife,

“ And make our neighbours ride—.” MALONE.

³ To make this shameless callet know herself.] Shakspeare uses the word *callet* likewise in *The Winter's Tale*, Act II. sc. iii.:

“ A *callat*

“ Of boundless tongue ; who late hath beat her husband,

“ And now baits me.”

Callet, a lewd woman, a drab, perhaps so called from the French *calote*, which was a sort of head-dress worn by country girls. See Glossary to Urry's Chaucer. So, in Chaucer's *Remedy of Love*, v. 307 :

“ A cold old knave cuckolde himself wenyng,

“ And of *calot* of lewd demenyng.”

So, Skelton, in his *Elinour Rummung*, Works, p. 133 :

“ Then Elinour said, ye *callettes*,

“ I shall break your palettes.”

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* :

“ Why the *callet* you told me of here,

“ I have tane disguis'd.” GREY.

⁴ Menelaus ;] i. e. a cuckold. So, in *Troilus and Cressida*, Thersites, speaking of Menelaus, calls him “ —the goodly transformation of Jupiter there,—the primitive statue and oblique memorial of cuckolds.” STEEVENS.

* By that false woman, as this king by thee.
 ‘ His father revell’d in the heart of France,
 And tam’d the king, and made the Dauphin stoop;
 And, had he match’d according to his state,
 He might have kept that glory to this day:
 But, when he took a beggar to his bed,
 And grac’d thy poor sire with his bridal day;
 ‘ Even then that sunshine brew’d a shower for him,
 ‘ That wash’d his father’s fortunes forth of France,
 And heap’d sedition on his crown at home.
 ‘ For what hath broach’d this tumult,⁵ but thy pride?
 Hadst thou been meek, our title still had slept;
 And we, in pity of the gentle king,
 Had slipp’d our claim until another age.

‘ *GEO.* But, when we saw our sunshine made thy
 spring,
 ‘ And that thy summer bred us no increase,⁶
 We set the axe to thy usurping root:
 And though the edge hath something hit ourselves,
 ‘ Yet, know thou, since we have begun to strike,
 ‘ We’ll never leave, till we have hewn thee down,
 Or bath’d thy growing with our heated bloods.

‘ *EDW.* And, in this resolution, I defy thee;
 Not willing any longer conference,

⁵ —— *hath broach’d this tumult,*] The quarto reads, “ *hath mov’d this,*” &c. STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *we saw our sunshine made thy spring,*
And that thy summer bred us no increase,] When we saw that by favouring thee we made thee grow in fortune, but that we received no advantage from thy fortune flourishing by our favour, we then resolved to destroy thee, and determined to try some other means, though our first efforts have failed.

JOHNSON.

The quartos read :

“ But when we saw our summer brought thee gain,
 “ And that the harvest brought us no increase.”

STEEVENS.

Since thou deny'st the gentle king to speak.—
Sound trumpets!—let our bloody colours wave!—
And either victory, or else a grave.

Q. MAR. Stay, Edward.

EDW. No, wrangling woman; we'll no longer stay:

These words will cost ten thousand lives to-day.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

A Field of Battle⁷ between Towton and Saxton in Yorkshire.

Alarums : Excursions. Enter WARWICK.

** WAR.* Forspent with toil,⁸ as runners with a race,
I lay me down a little while to breathe :

⁷ *A Field of Battle &c.]* We should read *near* Towton. Shakspeare has here, perhaps intentionally, thrown three different actions into one. The Lord Fitzwater, being stationed by King Edward, to defend the pass of Ferrybridge, was assaulted by the Lord Clifford, and immediately slain, “and with hym” says Hall “the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the earl of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong gentleman, and of great audacitie. When the earl of Warwicke,” adds he, “was informed of this feate, he lyke a man desperated, mounted on his hackeney, and came blowing to kyng Edward, saiynge: Syr, I praye God have mercy of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise hath lost their lyfes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeance and punishment to God our creator and Redeemer; and with that lighted doun, and slewe his horse with his swourde, saying: let them flye that wyl, for surely I wil tarye with him that wil tarye with me, and kissed the crosse of his swourde.” Clifford, in his retreat, was beset with a party of Yorkists, when, “eyther,” says the historian, “for heat or Payne, putting off his gorget, sodainly with an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde [he] was striken into the throte, and in-

For strokes receiv'd, and many blows repaid,
Have robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,
‘ And, spite of spite,’⁹ needs must I rest awhile.

Enter EDWARD, running.

EDW. Smile, gentle heaven!¹¹ or strike, ungentle death!
‘ For this world frowns, and Edward’s sun is clouded.

WAR. How now, my lord? what hap? what hope of good?

continent rendered his spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother, and almost all his company were thare slayn, at a place called Dinting-dale, not farr frō Towton.” In the afternoon of the next day (Palm Sunday eve 1461) on a plain field between Towton and Saxton, joined the main battles which continued engaged that night, and the greater part of the following day: upwards of 30,000 men, all English (including many of the nobility and the flower of the gentry, especially of the northern parts) being slain on both sides. This battle, says Carte, “ decided the fate of the house of Lancaster, overturning in one day an usurpation strengthened by sixty-two years continuance, and established Edward on the throne of England.” RITSON.

An authentick copy of King Edward’s account of this battle, together with a list of the noblemen and knights who were slain in it, may be seen in Sir John Fenn’s Collection of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 216, &c. HENLEY.

⁸ *Forspent with toil,*] Thus the folio. The quartos read “ *Sore spent,*” &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ *And, spite of spite,*] So, in *King John*:

“ *And, spite of spite,* alone holds up the day.”

STEEVENS.

¹ *Smile, genile heaven! &c.*] Thus the folio. Instead of these lines, the quartos give the following:

“ Smile, gentle heavens, or strike, ungentle death,

“ That we may die unless we gain the day!

“ What fatal star malignant frowns from heaven

“ Upon the harmless line of York’s true house!”

STEEVENS.

Enter GEORGE.

- * *GEO.* Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair;²
 ‘ Our ranks are broke, and ruin follows us :
 ‘ What counsel give you, whither shall we fly ?
 ‘ *EDW.* Bootless is flight, they follow us with
 wings ;
 ‘ And weak we are, and cannot shun pursuit.

Enter RICHARD.

- ‘ *KICH.* Ah, Warwick, why hast thou withdrawn
 thyself ?
 ‘ Thy brother’s blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,³

* *Our hap is loss, &c.]* Thus the folio. The quartos thus :
 “ Come, brother, come, let’s to the field again,
 “ For yet there’s hope enough to win the day ;
 “ Then let us back to cheer our fainting troops,
 “ Lest they retire now we have left the field.
 “ *War.* How now, my lords ? what hap ? what hope
 of good ?” STEEVENS.

Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair ;] Milton seems to have copied this line :

“ _____ Thus repuls’d, *our final hope*
 “ *Is flat despair.*” MALONE.

³ *Thy brother’s blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,*] This passage, from the variation of the copies, gave me no little perplexity. The old quarto applies this description to the death of Salisbury, Warwick’s father. But this was a notorious deviation from the truth of history. For the Earl of Salisbury in the battle at Wakefield, wherein Richard Duke of York lost his life, was taken prisoner, beheaded at Pomfret, and his head, together with the Duke of York’s, fixed over York gates. Then the only brother of Warwick, introduced in this play, is the Marquess of Montacute (or Montague, as he is called by our author) : but he does not die till ten years after, in the battle at Barnet ; where Warwick likewise was killed. The truth is, the

‘ Broach’d with the steely point of Clifford’s lance :
 ‘ And, in the very pangs of death, he cried,—

brother here mentioned is no person in the drama, and his death is only an accidental piece of history. Consulting the Chronicles, upon this action at Ferrybridge, I find him to have been a natural son of Salisbury, (in that respect a brother to Warwick,) and esteemed a valiant young gentleman. THEOBALD.

Thy brother’s blood &c.] Instead of this speech, which is printed, like almost all the rest of the play, from the folio, the quartos give the following :

“ Thy noble *father* in the thickest throngs
 “ Cried still for Warwick, his thrice valiant son ;
 “ Until with thousand swords he was beset,
 “ And many wounds made in his aged breast.
 “ And, as he tottering sat upon his steed,
 “ He waft his hand to me, and cried aloud,
 “ Richard, commend me to my valiant son :
 “ And still he cried, Warwick, revenge my death !
 “ And with these words he tumbled off his horse ;
 “ And so the noble Salisbury gave up the ghost.”

STEEVENS.

It is here only necessary to refer to former notes on similar variations ; See Vol. XIII. p. 210, n. 9 ; p. 220, n. 6 ; p. 234, n. 1 ; p. 317, n. 3 ; p. 322, n. 3.

Thy brother’s blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,] In this line, of which there is no trace in the original play, Shakspeare had probably the sacred writings in his thoughts : “ And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath *opened her mouth* to receive thy brother’s blood.” *Genesis, iv. 11.*

The old play (as Theobald has observed) applies this description to the death of Salisbury, contrary to the truth of history, for that nobleman was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield, and afterwards beheaded at Pomfret. But both Hall and Holinshed, in nearly the same words, relate the circumstance on which this speech, as exhibited in the *folio*, is founded ; and from the latter our author undoubtedly took it. “ The Lord Fitzwalter [who had been stationed to keep the pass of Ferrybridge] hearing the noise, [made by Lord Clifford and a body of light-horsemen, who attacked by surprize the party stationed at the bridge,] sodainly rose out of his bedde, and unarmed, with a pollax in his hande, thinking that it had bin a fraye amongst his men, came down to appease the same, but ere he knew what the

‘ Like to a dismal clangor heard from far,—
 ‘ Warwick, revenge ! brother, revenge my death !
 ‘ So underneath the belly of their steeds,
 ‘ That stain’d their fetlocks in his smoking blood,
 ‘ The noble gentleman gave up the ghost.

‘ WAR. Then let the earth be drunken with our
 blood :

I’ll kill my horse, because I will not fly.⁴
 * Why stand we like soft-hearted women here,
 * Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage ;
 * And look upon,⁵ as if the tragedy
 * Were play’d in jest by counterfeiting actors ?
 ‘ Here on my knee I vow to God above,
 ‘ I’ll never pause again, never stand still,
 ‘ Till either death hath clos’d these eyes of mine,
 ‘ Or fortune given me measure of revenge.

EDW. O Warwick, I do bend my knee with
 thine ;

matter ment, he was slaine, and with him the *bastard* of Salisbury, *brother to the erle of Warwick*, a valiant young gentleman, and of great audacitie.” Holinshed, p. 664. In this action at Ferrybridge, which happened on the 28th of March, 1461, the day before the great battle of Towton, Lord Clifford was killed. The author of this play has blended the two actions together.

MALONE.

* *I'll kill my horse, &c.]* So, in *The Miseries of Queen Margaret*, by Drayton :

“ Resolv'd to win, or bid the world adieu :

“ Which spoke, the earl his sprightly courser slew.”

Again, in Daniel’s *Civil Wars*, B. VIII. st. xiii.

From Hall, Henry VI. p. 102. See p. 71, n. 7.

STEEVENS.

⁵ *And look upon,]* And are mere spectators. So, in *The Winter's Tale*, where I idly suspected some corruption in the text :

“ And look on alike.” MALONE.

‘ And, in this vow, do chain my soul to thine.⁶—
 * And, ere my knee rise from the earth’s cold face,
 * I throw my hands, mine eyes, my heart to thee,
 Thou setter up and plucker down of kings !
 ‘ Beseeching thee,⁷—if with thy will it stands,
 ‘ That to my foes this body must be prey,—
 ‘ Yet that thy brazen gates of heaven may ope,
 ‘ And give sweet passage to my sinful soul !—
 ‘ Now, lords, take leave until we meet again,
 Where-e’er it be, in heaven, or on earth.

‘ RICH. Brother, give me thy hand ;—and,
 gentle Warwick,

‘ Let me embrace thee in my weary arms :—
 ‘ I, that did never weep, now melt with woe,
 ‘ That winter should cut off our spring-time so.

⁶ *And, in this vow, do chain my soul to thine.]* Thus the folio. The quarto as follows :

“ And in that vow now join my soul to thee.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *Beseeching thee,]* That is, beseeching the divine power. Shakspeare in new-forming this speech may seem, at the first view of it, to have made it obscure, by placing this line immediately after—“ Thou setter up,” &c.

What I have now observed is founded on a supposition that the words “ *Thou setter up,*” &c. are applied to Warwick, as they appear to be in the old play. However, our author certainly intended to deviate from it, and to apply this description to the Deity; and this is another strong confirmation of the observation already made relative to the variations between these pieces and the elder dramas on which they were formed. In the old play the speech runs thus :

“ Lord Warwick, I do bend my knees with thine,
 “ And in that vow now join my soul to thee,
 “ Thou setter-up and puller-down of kings :—
 “ Vouchsafe a gentle victory to us,
 “ Or let us die before we lose the day !”

The last two lines are certainly here addressed to the Deity; but the preceding line, notwithstanding the anachronism, seems to be addressed to Warwick. MALONE.

‘ *WAR.* Away, away! Once more, sweet lords, farewell.

‘ *GEO.* Yet let us all together to our troops,
 ‘ And give them leave to fly that will not stay ;
 And call them pillars, that will stand to us ;
 ‘ And, if we thrive, promise them such rewards
 ‘ As victors wear at the Olympian games :
 * This may plant courage in their quailing⁸ breasts ;
 * For yet is hope of life, and victory.—
 * Fore-slow no longer,⁹ make we hence amain.¹

[*Exeunt.*]

⁸ —— *quailing*] i. e. sinking into dejection. So, in *Cymbeline*:

“ _____ my false spirits
 “ Quail to remember :—” STEEVENS.

⁹ *Fore-slow no longer,*] To *fore-slow* is to be dilatory, to loiter. So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594:

“ Why, king Sebastian, wilt thou now *foreslow*? ”

Again, in Marlowe’s *Edward II.* 1598 :

“ *Foreslow* no time ; sweet Lancaster, let’s march.”

Again, in *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578 :

“ Good knight, for time do not my suit *foreslow*. ”

STEEVENS.

¹ —— *make we hence amain.*] Instead of this and the two preceding speeches, we have in the old play the following :

“ *Geo.* Then let us haste to cheare the souldiers’ hearts,
 “ And call them pillers that will stand to us,
 “ And highly promise to remunerate
 “ Their trustie service in these dangerous warres.
 “ *Rich.* Come, come away, and stand not to debate,
 “ For yet is hope of fortune good enough.
 “ Brothers, give me your handes, and let us part,
 “ And take our leaves untill we meeete againe ;
 “ Where ere it be, in heaven or in earth.
 “ Now I that never wept, now melt in woe,
 “ To see these dire mishaps continue so.
 “ *Warwick*, farewell.”
 “ *War.* Away, away ; once more, sweet lords, farewell.” MALONE.

SCENE IV.

The same. Another Part of the Field.

Excursions. Enter RICHARD and CLIFFORD.

‘ *RICH.* Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone:²
 ‘ Suppose, this arm is for the duke of York,
 ‘ And this for Rutland; both bound to revenge,
 ‘ Wert thou environ’d with a brazen wall.³

CLIF. Now, Richard, I am with thee here alone :
 This is the hand, that stabb’d thy father York ;
 And this the hand that slew thy brother Rutland ;
 And here’s the heart, that triumphs in their death,
 And cheers these hands, that slew thy sire and
 brother,

To execute the like upon thyself ;
 And so, have at thee.

[They fight. WARWICK enters ; CLIFFORD flies.

² Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone: &c.] Thus the folio. The quartos thus :

“ Now, Clifford, for York and young Rutland’s death,
 “ This thirsty sword, that longs to drink thy blood,
 “ Shall lop thy limbs, and slice thy cursed heart,
 “ For to revenge the murders thou hast made.”

STEEVENS.

³ Wert thou environ’d with a brazen wall.] So, in the second *Thebaid* of Statius, v. 453 :

“ — non si te ferreus agger
 “ Ambiat,—” STEEVENS.

- ‘ RICH. Nay, Warwick,⁴ single out some other chase ;
 ‘ For I myself will hunt this wolf to death.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

Another Part of the Field.

Alarum. Enter King HENRY.

- * *K. HEN.* This battle fares like to the morning’s war,⁵
 * When dying clouds contend with growing light ;

* *Nay, Warwick, &c.]* We have had two very similar lines in the preceding play, p. 384 :

“ Hold, Warwick, seek thee out some other chace ;
 “ For I myself must hunt this deer to death.”

See p. 102, n. 2. MALONE.

* *This battle fares like to the morning’s war, &c.]* Instead of this interesting speech, the quartos exhibit only the following :

“ O gracious God of heaven, look down on us,
 “ And set some ends to these incessant griefs !
 “ How like a mastless ship upon the seas,
 “ This woeful battle doth continue still,
 “ Now leaning this way, now to that side driven,
 “ And none doth know to whom the day will fall.
 “ Oh, would my death might stay these *civil** jars !
 “ Would I had never reign’d, nor ne’er been king !
 “ Margaret and Clifford chide me from the field,
 “ Swearing they had best success when I was thence.
 “ Would God that I were dead, so all were well ;
 “ Or, would my crown suffice, I were content
 “ To yield it them, and live a private life !”

The leading thought in both these soliloquies is borrowed from Holinshed, p. 665 :—“ This deadly conflict continued ten hours in doubtful state of victorie, uncertainlie heaving and setting on both sides,” &c.

* The quarto, 1600, printed by W. W. reads—*cruel jars.*

- * What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,⁶
- * Can neither call it perfect day, nor night.
- ‘ Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea,
- ‘ Forc’d by the tide to combat with the wind ;
- ‘ Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea
- ‘ Forc’d to retire by fury of the wind :
- ‘ Sometime, the flood prevails; and then, the wind;
- ‘ Now, one the better ; then, another best ;
- ‘ Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,⁷
- ‘ Yet neither conqueror, nor conquered :
- ‘ So is the equal poise of this fell war.
- * Here on this molehill will I sit me down.
- * To whom God will, there be the victory !
- ‘ For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,
- ‘ Have chid me from the battle ; swearing both,
- ‘ They prosper best of all when I am thence.
- ‘ ’Would I were dead ! if God’s good will were so :
- ‘ For what is in this world, but grief and woe ?
- * O God ! methinks, it were a happy life,⁸

Virgil, however, *Aen.* Lib. X. v. 354, has a similar comparison :

“ ————— Expellere tendunt
 “ Nunc hi, nunc illi : certatur limine in ipso
 “ Ausoniæ. Magno discordes æthere venti
 “ Prælia ceu tollunt, animis et viribus æquis :
 “ Non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedunt ;
 “ Anceps pugna diu : stant obnixi omnia contra,” &c.

This simile, however, originates with Homer ; *Iliad*, XIV.

STEEVENS.

⁶ ————— the shepherd, blowing of his nails,] So, in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

“ When icicles hang by the wall,
 “ And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,—.” MALONE.

⁷ Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,] Hence, perhaps, the vulgarism that gives such acknowledged force to the following line in *Lee's Rival Queens* :

“ When Greeks join'd Greeks, then was the tug of war.”
 STEEVENS.

⁸ ————— methinks, it were a happy life,] This speech is mournful and soft, exquisitely suited to the character of the King, and

* To be no better than a homely swain ;
 * To sit upon a hill, as I do now,
 * To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,
 * Thereby to see the minutes how they run :
 * How many make the hour full complete,⁹
 * How many hours bring about the day,
 * How many days will finish up the year,
 * How many years a mortal man may live.
 * When this is known, then to divide the times :
 * So many hours must I tend my flock ;
 * So many hours must I take my rest ;
 * So many hours must I contemplate ;
 * So many hours must I sport myself ;
 * So many days my ewes have been with young ;
 * So many weeks ere the poor fools will yean ;¹
 * So many years² ere I shall sheer the fleece :

makes a pleasing interchange, by affording, amidst the tumult and horror of the battle, an unexpected glimpse of rural innocence and pastoral tranquillity. JOHNSON.

This speech strongly confirms the remark made by Sir Joshua Reynolds on a passage in *Macbeth*, Vol. X. p. 72, n. 3.

MALONE.

⁹ *Thereby to see the minutes how they run :*
How many make the hour full complete,] So, in our author's
Rape of Lucrece :

“ Stuff up his lust, as minutes fill up hours.” MALONE.

¹ —— *ere the poor fools will yean ;]* Poor fool, it has already been observed, is an expression of tenderness, often used by our author. MALONE.

So, in *King Lear*, scene the last :

“ And my poor fool is hang'd.”

See notes on this passage, Vol. XVII. STEEVENS.

² *So many years ere I shall sheer the fleece :]* i. e. the years which must elapse between the time of the yeaning of the ewes, and the lambs arriving to such a state as to admit of being shorn. Mr. Rowe changed *years* to *months* ; which was followed by the subsequent editors ; and in the next line inserted the word *weeks* ; not observing that *hours* is used there, and throughout this speech,

- * So minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, and years,
- * Pass'd over to the end they were created,
- * Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave.
- * Ah, what a life were this! how sweet! how lovely!
- * Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade
- * To shepherds, looking on their silly sheep,
- * Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy
- * To kings, that fear their subjects' treachery?
- * O, yes it doth; a thousand fold it doth.
- * And to conclude,—the shepherd's homely curds,
- * His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
- * His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
- * All which secure and sweetly he enjoys,
- * Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
- * His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
- * His body couched in a curious bed,
- * When care, mistrust, and treason wait on him.

*Alarum. Enter a Son that has killed his Father,³
dragging in the dead Body.*

Son. Ill blows the wind, that profits no-body.—

- * This man, whom hand to hand I slew in fight,
- * May be possessed with some store of crowns:
- * And I, that haply take them from him now,
- * May yet ere night yield both my life and them

as a dissyllable. *Years* is in that line likewise used as a word of two syllables. MALONE.

This dissyllabical pronunciation will by no means suit the conclusion of a verse, however it may be admitted in other parts of it. I have retained Mr. Rowe's very necessary insertion.

STEEVENS.

³ *Enter a Son &c.]* These two horrible incidents are selected to show the innumerable calamities of civil war. JOHNSON.

: In the battle of Constantine and Maxentius, by Raphael, the second of these incidents is introduced on a similar occasion.

STEEVENS.

* To some man else, as this dead man doth me.—
 ‘ Who’s this?—O God! it is my father’s face,
 ‘ Whom in this conflict I unwares have kill’d.
 ‘ O heavy times, begetting such events!
 ‘ From London by the king was I press’d forth;
 ‘ My father, being the earl of Warwick’s man,
 ‘ Came on the part of York, press’d by his master;
 ‘ And I, who at his hands receiv’d my life,
 ‘ Have by my hands of life bereaved him.—
 ‘ Pardon me, God, I knew not what I did!—
 And pardon, father, for I knew not thee!—
 * My tears shall wipe away these bloody marks;
 * And no more words, till they have flow’d their fill.

‘ *K. Hen.* O piteous spectacle!⁴ O bloody times!
 Whilst lions war, and battle for their dens,
 ‘ Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity.—
 * Weep, wretched man, I’ll aid thee tear for tear;
 * And let our hearts, and eyes, like civil war,
 * Be blind with tears, and break o’ercharg’d with
 grief.⁵

* *O piteous spectacle! &c.]* In the old play the King does not speak, till both the Son and the Father have appeared, and spoken, and then the following words are attributed to him, out of which Shakspeare has formed two distinct speeches:

“ Woe above woe! grief more than common grief!
 “ Whilst lions war, and battle for their dens,
 “ Poor lambs do feel the rigour of their wraths.
 “ The red rose and the white are on his face,
 “ The fatal colours of our striving houses.
 “ Wither one rose, and let the other perish,
 “ For, if you strive, ten thousand lives must perish.”

MALONE.

* *And let our hearts, and eyes, like civil war,
 Be blind with tears, and break o’ercharg’d with grief.]* The meaning is here inaccurately expressed. The King intends to say that the state of their *hearts and eyes* shall be like that of the kingdom in a *civil war*, all shall be destroyed by power formed within themselves. JOHNSON.

Enter a Father, who has killed his Son, with the Body in his Arms.

‘ FATH. Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,
 ‘ Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold ;
 ‘ For I have bought it with an hundred blows.—
 ‘ But let me see :—is this our foeman’s face ?
 ‘ Ah, no, no, no, it is mine only son !—
 * Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,
 * Throw up thine eye ; see, see, what showers arise,
 * Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,⁶
 * Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart!—
 ‘ O, pity, God, this miserable age !—
 ‘ What stratagems,⁷ how fell, how butcherly,

⁶ ————— what showers arise,

Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,] This image had occurred in the preceding Act :

For raging wind blows up incessant showers. STEEVENS.

⁷ What stratagems,] Stratagem seems to stand here only for an event of war, or may intend snares and surprises. JOHNSON.

Stratagem is used by Shakspeare not merely to express the events and surprises of war.—The word means in this place some *dreadful event*, as it does also in *The Second Part of K. Henry IV.* where Northumberland says :

“ — Every minute now

“ Should be the father of some *stratagem*. ”

Stratagema, in Italian, bears the same acceptation which Shakspeare gives to the English word *Stratagem*, in these two passages. Bernini in his *History of Heresies*, says : “ Ma Dio puni la Francia, & la Spagna, co’l flagello dei Vandali, per l’Eresia abbracciata, & piu gravamente puni Roma, prevaricata di nuovo, al culto de gl’ idoli, con il sacco che gli diedero. Orosio, che descrisse quelle *stratagemme*, paragoni Roma a Sodoma, chiamando i Romani peccatori.”

It is evident, that in this passage *stratageme* means *disastrous events*, as *stratagem* does in this place. M. MASON.

“ *Stratageme*. A policie or subtle device in *warre*, whereby the enemie is often vanquished.” Bullokar’s *English Expositor*,

‘ Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural,
 ‘ This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!—
 ‘ O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,⁸
 ‘ And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!⁹

octavo, 1616. Florio, in his *Italian Dict.* 1598, defines *Stratagem*, “a policie, a wile, or wittie shift in warre.” This was undoubtedly its ordinary sense in our author’s time, though then and afterwards it was occasionally used for *any* subtle device or policy. Here it has unquestionably its ordinary signification.

MALONE.

Mr. Malone asserts that *stratagem* in this place means a *subtle device in war*; but I still adhere to my former opinion, that it means a *disastrous event*, or *an atrocious action*. Can we suppose that a father in the paroxysm of despair, on finding that he had killed with his own hand, his only son, should call that horrid deed a *subtle device in war*? When Lorenzo says, in *The Merchant of Venice*, that—

“ The man who hath no musick in himself &c.

“ Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils,”

Could he mean to rank the *subtle devices of war* in the same class with the worst of crimes?

We find the word *stratagem* in *The True Chronicle History of King Lear*, p. 417, where Regan says to the Messenger—

“ Hast thou the heart to act a *stratagem*,

“ And give a stab or two, if need require?

“ *Messenger*. I have a heart compact of adamant

“ Which never knew what melting pity meant.

“ I weigh no more the murd’ring of a man,

“ Than I respect the cracking of a flea,

“ When I do catch her biting on my skin.

“ If you will have your husband or your father,

“ Or both of them, sent to another world,

“ Do but command me do it, it shall be done.”

It is evident that Regan’s *stratagem*, or *subtle device*, was *assassination*. M. MASON.

⁸ *O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,]* Because had he been born later, he would not now have been of years to engage in this quarrel. WARBURTON.

⁹ *And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!]* i. e. He should have done it by not bringing thee into being, to make both father and son thus miserable. This is the sense, such as it is, of the two lines; however, an indifferent sense was better than none,

K. HEN. Woe above woe ! grief more than common grief !

* O, that my death would stay these Ruthful deeds !—
 * O pity, pity, gentle heaven, pity !—
 The red rose and the white are on his face,
 The fatal colours of our striving houses :
 * The one, his purple blood right well resembles ;
 * The other, his pale cheeks, methinks, present :

as it is brought to by the Oxford editor, by reading the lines thus:

*O boy ! thy father gave thee life too late,
 And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon.* WARBURTON.

I rather think the meaning of the line, *And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon*, to be this : Thy father exposed thee to danger by giving thee life too soon, and hath bereft thee of life by living himself too long. JOHNSON.

The Oxford editor might have justified the change he made, from the authority of the quarto, according to which I would read ; explaining the first line thus : *Thy father begot thee at too late a period of his life, and therefore thou wert not old and strong enough to cope with him.* The next line can want no explanation. Mr. Tollet thinks, that by *too late* is meant *too lately*, as in *King Richard III.* Act III :

“ Too late he died that might have kept that title.”

STEEVENS.

Too late, without doubt, means *too recently*. The memory of thy virtues and thy hapless end is *too recent*, to be thought of without the deepest anguish. The same quaint expression is found in our author’s *Rape of Lucrece* :

“ O, quoth Lucretius, I did give that life,

“ Which she too early and *too late* hath spill’d.”

Here *late* clearly means *lately*. Again, in this *Third Part of King Henry VI* :

“ Where fame, *late* entering at his heedful ears.”

In the old play this and the preceding line stand thus :

“ Poor boy, thy father gave thee life *too late*,

“ And hath bereft thee of thy life *too soon*.” MALONE.

The present reading appears to be far the more eligible. Had the son been younger, he would have been precluded from the levy that brought him into the field ; and had the father recognized him before the mortal blow, it would not have been *too late* to have saved him from death. HENLEY.

Wither one rose, and let the other flourish !

‘ If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.¹

Son. How will my mother, for a father’s death,
Take on with me,² and ne’er be satisfied ?

Fath. How will my wife, for slaughter of my son,
‘ Shed seas of tears, and ne’er be satisfied ?

‘ *K. Hen.* How will the country,³ for these wo-
ful chances,

‘ Misthink the king, and not be satisfied ?

‘ *Son.* Was ever son, so ru’d a father’s death ?

‘ *Fath.* Was ever father, so bemoan’d a son ?⁴

¹ *If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.*] Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

“ For if you strive, a thousand lives must perish.”

STEEVENS.

I think the word *wither* is more likely to have been inadvertently repeated by the transcriber, than substituted by Shakespeare for the former word. MALONE.

² Take on with me,] Be enraged at me. So, in a pamphlet by T. Nashe, 1592: “ Some will take on, like a madman,” &c. See Vol. VII. p. 344, n. 6. MALONE.

To *take on* is a phrase still in use among the vulgar, and signifies—to persist in clamorous lamentation. STEEVENS.

³ *How will the country, &c.*] So the folio. The quartos thus:

“ How will the country now misdeem their king !

“ Oh, would my death their minds could satisfy !”

To *mis-think* is to think ill, unfavourably. So, in *The Northern Lass*, 1633 :

“ —— and heaven pardon me what I mis-thought every hour of the night !” STEEVENS.

This word, which Shakespeare substituted for *misdeem*, he has again used in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ Be it known, that we the greatest are mis-thought,

“ For things that others do.” MALONE.

⁴ *Was ever son, so ru’d a father’s death?*

Was ever father, so bemoan’d his son ?] The variation is here

* *K. Hen.* Was ever king, so griev'd for subjects' woe?

* Much is your sorrow; mine, ten times so much.

* *Son.* I'll bear thee hence,⁵ where I may weep my fill. [Exit, with the Body.]

* *Fath.* These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet;

* My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre;

* For from my heart thine image ne'er shall go.

* My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell;

* And so obsequious will thy father be,⁶

* Sad for the loss of thee,⁷ having no more,

* As Priam was for all⁸ his valiant sons.

I'll bear thee hence; and let them fight that will,
For I have murder'd where I should not kill.

[Exit, with the Body.]

worth remarking, for in the old play the corresponding lines are:

“Was ever son so rude, his father's blood to spill!

“Was ever father so unnatural, his son to kill?”

MALONE.

* *I'll bear thee hence, &c.*] Thus the folio. The old play thus:

“I'll bear thee hence from this accursed place,

“For woe is to me, to see my father's face.” MALONE.

* *And so obsequious will thy father be,*] *Obsequious* is here careful of obsequies, or of funeral rites. JOHNSON.

In the same sense it is used in *Hamlet*:

“——— to do obsequious sorrow.” STEEVENS.

* *Sad for the loss of thee,*] The old copy reads—men for the loss &c. Mr. Rowe made the alteration; but I think we might read:

“——— so obsequious will thy father be,

“Man, for the loss of thee” &c. STEEVENS.

* *As Priam was for all—*] I having but one son, will grieve as much for that one, as Priam, who had many, could grieve for many. JOHNSON.

- ‘ *K. HEN.* Sad-hearted men, much overgone with care,
- ‘ Here sits a king more woful than you are.

Alarums : Excursions. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince of Wales, and EXETER.

- ‘ *PRINCE.* Fly, father, fly ! for all your friends are fled,
 - ‘ And Warwick rages like a chafed bull :
 - ‘ Away ! for death doth hold us in pursuit.
 - ‘ *Q. MAR.* Mount you, my lord, towards Berwick post amain :
 - ‘ Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds
 - ‘ Having the fearful flying hare in sight,
 - ‘ With fiery eyes, sparkling for very wrath,
 - ‘ And bloody steel grasp’d in their ireful hands,
 - ‘ Are at our backs ; and therefore hence amain.
 - ‘ *EXE.* Away ! for vengeance comes along with them :
 - ‘ Nay, stay not to expostulate, make speed ;
Or else come after, I’ll away before.
 - ‘ *K. HEN.* Nay, take me with thee, good sweet Exeter ;
 - ‘ Not that I fear to stay, but love to go
 - ‘ Whither the queen intends. Forward ; away !
- [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.

The same.

A loud Alarum. Enter CLIFFORD, wounded.¹

“CLIF. Here burns my candle out, ay, here it dies,¹

Which, while it lasted, gave king Henry light.

O, Lancaster! I fear thy overthrow,

More than my body’s parting with my soul.

My love, and fear, glew’d many friends to thee;

‘ And, now I fall, thy tough commixtures melt.²

Impairing Henry, strength’ning mis-proud York,
The common people swarm like summer flies:³

¹ *Enter Clifford, wounded.]* The quarto adds, *with an arrow in his neck.* In ridicule of this, Beaumont and Fletcher have introduced *Ralph*, the grocer’s prentice, in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, with a *forked arrow through his head*. It appears, however, from Holinshed, p. 664, that this circumstance has some relation to the truth: “The lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget suddenlie, with an *arrow* (as some saie) without a head, was striken into the *throte*, and immediately rendered his spirit.” STEEVENS.

¹ *Here burns my candle out, ay, here it dies,]* So, in the first part of this play:

“*Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer.*” STEEVENS.

² — *thy tough commixtures melt.]* Perhaps better, *the tough commixture.* JOHNSON.

The quartos read—“*that tough commixture melts.*”

STEEVENS.

³ *The common people swarm like summer flies:]* This line, which is not in the folio, was recovered from the old play by Mr. Theobald. The context shows, that like a line in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* it was omitted by the negligence of the transcriber or compositor. MALONE.

And whither fly the gnats, but to the sun?⁴
 And who shines now but Henry's enemies?
 O Phœbus! hadst thou never given consent⁵
 That Phaeton should check thy fiery steeds,
 Thy burning car never had scorch'd the earth:
 And, Henry, hadst thou sway'd as kings should do,
 Or as thy father, and his father, did,
 Giving no ground unto the house of York,
 * They never then had sprung like summer flies;
 ' I, and ten thousand in this luckless realm,
 Had left no mourning widows for our death,
 And thou this day hadst kept thy chair in peace.
 For what doth cherish weeds but gentle air?
 ' And what makes robbers bold, but too much lenity?

Bootless are plaints, and cureless are my wounds;
 ' No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:⁶
 The foe is merciless, and will not pity;
 For, at their hands, I have deserv'd no pity.
 ' The air hath got into my deadly wounds,
 And much effuse of blood doth make me faint:—

** The common people swarm like summer flies:
 And whither fly the gnats, but to the sun?]* Hence, perhaps, originated the following passage in *The Bard* of Gray:

“The swarm that in thy noon tide beam were born?
 “Gone to salute the rising morn.” STEEVENS.

⁵ O Phœbus! hadst thou never given consent—] The Duke of York had been entrusted by Henry with the reins of government both in Ireland and France; and hence perhaps was taught to aspire to the throne. MALONE.

⁶ No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:] This line is clear and proper as it is now read; yet perhaps an opposition of images was meant, and Clifford said:

No way to fly, nor strength to hold out fight. JOHNSON.

The sense of the original reading is—No way to fly, nor with strength sufficient left to sustain myself in flight, if there were.

STEEVENS.

Come, York, and Richard, Warwick, and the rest;
 ‘ I stabb’d your fathers’ bosoms, split my breast.’⁷

[*He faints.*

Alarum and Retreat. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE,
 RICHARD, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers.

- ‘ *EDW.* Now breathe we, lords;⁸ good fortune
 bids us pause,
- ‘ And smooth the frowns of war⁹ with peaceful
 looks.—
- * Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen;—
- ‘ That led calm Henry, though he were a king,
- ‘ As doth a sail, fill’d with a fretting gust,

[I stabb’d your fathers’ bosoms, split my breast.] So the folio.
 The quartos read:

“ I stabb’d your father’s, now come split my breast.”

STEEVENS.

[Now breathe we, lords;] Instead of this speech the quartos
 have the following:

“ Thus far our fortunes keep an upward course,
 “ And we are grac’d with wreaths of victory.
 “ Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen,
 “ That now towards Berwick doth post amain:—
 “ But think you that Clifford is fled away with them?”

STEEVENS.

This battle, in which the house of York was victorious, was fought on a plain between Towton and Saxton, on the 29th of March, (Palm Sunday) 1461. The royal army consisted, according to Hall, of about forty thousand men; and the young Duke of York’s forces were 48,760. In this combat, which lasted fourteen hours, and in the actions of the two following days, thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six persons are said to have been killed; the greater part of whom were undoubtedly Lancastrians. MALONE.

[And smooth the frowns of war—] So, in *K. Richard III*:

“ Grim-visag’d war hath smooth’d his wrinkled front.”

STEEVENS.

‘ Command an argosy to stem the waves.
 ‘ But think you, lords, that Clifford fled with them?’

WAR. No, 'tis impossible he should escape:
 For, though before his face I speak the words,
 Your brother Richard mark'd him for the grave:¹
 ‘ And, wheresoe'er he is, he's surely dead.

[CLIFFORD groans, and dies.

EDW. Whose soul² is that which takes her heavy
 leave?

RICH. A deadly groan, like life and death's de-
 parting.³

EDW. See who it is: and, now the battle's ended,
 If friend, or foe, let him be gently us'd.

¹ —— *mark'd him for the grave:*] Young has transferred this expression to Alonzo in *The Revenge*:

“ This only marks my body for the grave.”

A similar phrase occurs in Chapman's version of the fifth *Iliad*:

“ Our bravest foe is *mark'd for death*; he cannot long sustain

“ My violent shaft,—” STEEVENS.

² *Edw. Whose soul &c.*] I have distinguished this and the two following speeches according to the authority of the quarto. The folio gave all to Richard, except the last line and half.

STEEVENS.

I have also followed the original regulation, because it seems absurd that Richard should first say to his brother, or to one of the soldiers, “ See who it is;”—and then, himself declare that it is Clifford; and therefore I suppose the variation in the folio arose, not from Shakspeare, but from some negligence or inaccuracy of a compositor or transcriber. MALONE.

³ —— *like life and death's departing.*] Sir Thomas Hanmer reads, *like life in death departing*; which Dr. Warburton has received. JOHNSON.

The quartos read, like life and death's *departure*. STEEVENS.

— *like life and death's departing.*] *Departing for separation.* MALONE.

There is no occasion for correction. “ 'Till death us *depart*” was the expression in the old *Marriage Service*. FARMER.

‘ RICH. Revoke that doom of mercy, for ‘tis Clifford ;
 ‘ Who not contented that he lopp’d the branch
 ‘ In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,⁴
 ‘ But set his murdering knife unto the root
 ‘ From whence that tender spray did sweetly spring,
 ‘ I mean, our princely father, duke of York.

WAR. From off the gates of York fetch down
 the head,

Your father’s head, which Clifford placed there :
 ‘ Instead whereof, let this supply the room ;
 Measure for measure must be answered.

EDW. Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our
 house,

‘ That nothing sung but death to us and ours :⁵
 ‘ Now death shall stop his dismal threatening sound,
 ‘ And his ill-boding tongue no more shall speak.

[Attendants bring the Body forward.

WAR. I think his understanding is bereft :—

⁴ *In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,*] It is manifest from this and many other passages, that the author of the old play, where the corresponding line stands thus :

“ Who killed our tender brother Rutland—.”

imagined that Rutland was younger than George and Richard ; whereas he was in fact older than them both, being the Duke of York’s second son ; in consequence of which he bore a title by courtesy : and a particular stipulation was made in the compact entered into between Henry and the Duke of York, that Rutland, as well as his elder brother Edward Earl of March, should swear to the due observance of the agreement. Shakspeare has, we see, fallen into the same error ; as have Habington in his nervous and elegant *History of Edward IV.* and several other historians. MALONE.

⁵ —— *screech-owl to our house,*

That nothing sung but death &c.] So, in K. Richard III:

“ *Out on you, owls! nothing but songs of death ?”*

STEEVENS.

Speak, Clifford, dost thou know who speaks to thee?—

Dark cloudy death o'ershades his beams of life,
And he nor sees, nor hears us what we say.

RICH. O, 'would he did! and so, perhaps, he doth;

‘ ‘Tis but his policy to counterfeit,
‘ Because he would avoid such bitter taunts
‘ Which in the time of death he gave our father.

GEO. If so thou think'st, vex him with eager words.⁶

RICH. Clifford, ask mercy, and obtain no grace.

EDW. Clifford, repent in bootless penitence.

WAR. Clifford, devise excuses for thy faults.

GEO. While we devise fell tortures for thy faults.

‘ *RICH.* Thou didst love York, and I am son to York.

EDW. Thou pitied'st Rutland, I will pity thee.

GEO. Where's captain Margaret, to fence you now?

WAR. They mock thee, Clifford! swear as thou wast wont.

‘ *RICH.* What, not an oath? nay, then the world goes hard,

‘ When Clifford cannot spare his friends an oath:—
I know by that, he's dead; And, by my soul,
‘ If this right hand would buy two hours' life,
That I in all despite might rail at him,

“ —eager words.] Sour words; words of asperity.

JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“ It is a nipping and an *eager air.*” STEEVENS.

‘ This hand should chop it off; and with the issuing blood

Stifle the villain, whose unstaunched thirst
York and young Rutland could not satisfy.

WAR. Ay, but he’s dead: Off with the traitor’s head,

And rear it in the place your father’s stands.—

And now to London with triumphant march,

There to be crowned England’s royal king.

‘ From whence shall Warwick cut the sea to France,
And ask the lady Bona for thy queen:

So shalt thou sinew both these lands together;

‘ And, having France thy friend, thou shalt not dread

The scatter’d foe, that hopes to rise again;

For though they cannot greatly sting to hurt,

Yet look to have them buz, to offend thine ears.

First, will I see the coronation;

‘ And then to Britany I’ll cross the sea,⁷

To effect this marriage, so it please my lord.

EDW. Even as thou wilt, sweet Warwick, let it be:

* For on thy shoulder do I build my seat;

* And never will I undertake the thing,

* Wherein thy counsel and consent is wanting.—

‘ Richard, I will create thee duke of Gloster;

‘ And George, of Clarence;—Warwick, as ourself,

‘ Shall do, and undo, as him pleaseth best.

RICH. Let me be duke of Clarence; George, of Gloster;

⁷ *And then to Britany I’ll cross the sea,]* Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

“ And afterward I’ll cross the seas to France.”

For Gloster's dukedom is too ominous.⁸

WAR. Tut, that's a foolish observation ;
Richard, be duke of Gloster : Now to London,
To see these honours in possession. [Exeunt.

ACT III. SCENE I.

A Chace in the North of England.

*Enter Two Keepers,⁹ with Cross-bows in their
Hands.*

‘ 1 *KEEP.* Under this thick-grown brake¹ we'll
shroud ourselves ;

⁸ —— *too ominous.*] Alluding, perhaps, to the deaths of Thomas of Woodstock, and Humphrey, Dukes of Gloster.

STEEVENS.

The author of the original play, in which this line is found, probably had here a passage in Hall's *Chronicle* in his thoughts : “ It seemeth to many men that the name and title of Gloucester hath bene unfortunate and unluckie to diverse, whiche for their honor have bene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie; as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, son to kynge Edward the thirde, and this duke Humphrey, [who was killed at Bury ;] whiche three persons by miserable death finished their daies ; and after them king Richard the iii. also duke of Gloucester, in civil warre was slaine and confounded ; so that this name of Gloucester is taken for an unhappy and unfortunate stile, as the proverbe speaketh of Sejanus horse, whose ryder was ever unhorsed, and whose possessor was ever brought to miserie.”

MALONE.

⁹ —— *two Keepers,*] In the folio, instead of *two keepers*, we have, through negligence, the names of the persons who represented these characters ; *Sinklo* and *Humphrey*. See Vol. IX. p. 23, n. 7. MALONE.

* For through this laund² anon the deer will come;

Dr. Grey observes from Hall and Holinshed, that the name of the person who took King Henry, was *Cantlowe*. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note on the first scene in *The Taming of a Shrew*.

I learn also from one of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 249, that Giles *Senctlowe* was among the persons then in Scotland with the Queen. STEEVENS.

One Giles *Santlowe*, Esquire, is among those attainted by King Edward's first parliament, and may possibly be here meant, but no person of that name seems to have been any way concerned in the capture of the late king; who, according to *W. Wyrcester*, was actually taken in *Lancashire*, by two knights named *John Talbois* and *Richard Tunstall*,—July, 1464. Drummond of Hawthornden observes, it was recorded “that a son of *Sir Edward Talbots* apprehended him as he sat at dinner in *Waddington-hall*; and like a common malefactor, with his legs under the horse's belly, guarded him toward London.” It is a more certain fact, which I have from records in the *Duchy Office*, that King Edward granted to *Sir James Harrington* a rent-charge of one hundred pounds out of his lordship of *Rowland* in Lancashire, in recompence of his great and laborious diligence about the capture and detention of the king's great traitor, rebel and enemy, lately called Henry the Sixth, made by the said James; and likewise annuities to *Richard Talbot*, *Thomas Talbot*, Esquires,—*Talbot*, and—*Livesey*, for their services in the same capture. See also, Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. 548. Henry had for some time been harboured by *James Maychell* of *Crakenthorp*, Westmoreland, *Ib.* 575. It seems clear, however, that the present scene is to be placed near the Scottish border. The King himself says:

“ From Scotland am I stol'n, even of pure love ;”

And Hall (and Holinshed after him) tells us “ He was no sooner entered [into England,] but he was knownen and taken of one *Cantlow*, and brought toward the king.” RYTON.

¹ — *brake* —] A *brake* anciently signified a *thicket*. So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* : “ This green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn *brake* our tiring house.” Again : “ Enter into that *brake*, and so every one according to his cue.” See the latter part of a note on *Measure for Measure*, Vol. VI. p. 232.

STEEVENS.

² — *this laund* —] *Laund* means the same as *lawn*; a plain extended between woods.

So, in the old play of *Orlando Furioso*, 1594 :

“ And that they trace the shady *lawnds*,” &c.

‘ And in this covert will we make our stand,
 ‘ Culling the principal of all the deer.

* 2 *KEEP.* I’ll stay above the hill, so both may
 shoot.

* 1 *KEEP.* That cannot be; the noise of thy
 cross-bow³

* Will scare the herd, and so my shoot is lost.

* Here stand we both, and aim we at the best:

* And, for the time shall not seem tedious,

* I’ll tell thee what befell me on a day,

* In this self-place where now we mean to stand.

* 2 *KEEP.* Here comes a man, let’s stay till he
 be past.⁴

Enter King HENRY, disguised, with a Prayer-book.

K. HEN. From Scotland am I stol’n, even of
 pure love,

* To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.⁵

* No, Harry, Harry, ’tis no land of thine;

* Thy place is fill’d, thy scepter wrung from thee,

Again:

“ Tread she these *lawnds*, kind Flora boasts her pride.”

STEEVENS.

³ —— *the noise of thy cross-bow—*] The poet appears not to have forgot the secrets of his former profession.

So, in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1608:

“ —— Did I not hear a *baw* go off, and the buck bray?”

STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *let’s stay till he be past.]* So the folio. The quartos read:

“ —— let’s listen him a while.” STEEVENS.

⁵ *To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.]* So the folio. The quartos perhaps better, thus:

“ And thus disguis’d to greet my native land.”

STEEVENS.

* Thy balm wash'd off,⁶ wherewith thou wast anointed :

No bending knee will call thee Caesar now,
 ‘ No humble suitors press to speak for right,
 * No, not a man comes for redress of thee ;
 For how can I help them, and not myself ?

‘ 1 *KEEP.* Ay, here’s a deer whose skin’s a keeper’s fee :

‘ This is the *quondam* king ;⁷ let’s seize upon him.

⁶ *Thy balm wash’d off,*] This is an image very frequent in the works of Shakspeare. So again, in this scene :

“ I was anointed king.”

It is common in these plays to find the same images, whether jocular or serious, frequently recurring. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Richard II* :

“ Not all the water in the rough rude sea

“ Can wash the balm from an anointed king.”

It is observable that this line is one of those additions to the original play, which are found in the folio, and not in the quarto.

MALONE.

⁷ *This is the quondam king ; &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos thus :

“ Ay, marry, sir, here’s a deer ; his skin is a

“ Keeper’s fee. Sirrah stand close ; for as I think,

“ This is the king, king Edward hath depos’d.”

STEEVENS.

Quondam had not in Shakspeare’s time uniformly acquired a ludicrous sense. “ Make them *quondams* (says Latimer in one of his Sermons,) out with them, cast them out of their office.” And in another place : “ He will have every man a *quondam*, as he is. As for my *quondamship* I thank God that he gaue me the grace to come by it, by so honest a meanes as I did ; I thanke him for myne owne *quondamship*, and as for them I will not haue them made *quondams*, if they discharge their office. I would haue them doe their duety. I would haue no more *quondams*, as God help me.” Fol. 53.

Again, in Warner’s *Albion’s England*, B. V. ch. 28, 1602 :

“ Not knights alone, but prelates too, and queens where-
 of were twain,

“ The *quondam* & *in esse* queenes—.” HOLT WHITE.

- * K. HEN. Let me embrace these sour adversities;⁸
- * For wise men say, it is the wisest course.
- * 2 KEEP. Why linger we? let us lay hands upon him.
- * 1 KEEP. Forbear a while; we'll hear a little more.

K. HEN. My queen, and son, are gone to France for aid;

And, as I hear, the great commanding Warwick
 ' Is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister
 ' To wife for Edward: If this news be true,
 ' Poor queen, and son, your labour is but lost;
 ' For Warwick is a subtle orator,
 ' And Lewis a prince soon won with moving words.
 ' By this account, then, Margaret may win him;
 ' For she's a woman to be pitied much:
 * Her sighs will make a battery in his breast;
 * Her tears will pierce into a marble heart;
 * The tiger will be mild, while she doth mourn;⁹
 * And Nero will¹ be tainted with remorse,
 * To hear, and see, her plaints, her brinish tears.
 * Ay, but she's come to beg; Warwick, to give:
 She, on his left side, craving aid for Henry;
 He, on his right, asking a wife for Edward.
 She weeps, and says—her Henry is depos'd;
 He smiles, and says—his Edward is install'd;

⁸ — *these sour adversities;*] The old copy reads—*the sowe adversaries.* STEEVENS.

Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁹ *The tiger will be mild, while she doth mourn;*] So, in Othello:

“—She will sing the savageness out of a bear.” STEEVENS.

¹ *And Nero will—*] Perhaps we might better read—*A Nero will—.* STEEVENS.

- * That she, poor wretch, for grief can speak no more :
- * Whiles Warwick tells his title, smooths the wrong,
- * Inferreth arguments of mighty strength ;²
- * And, in conclusion, wins the king from her,
- * With promise of his sister, and what else,
- * To strengthen and support king Edward's place.
- * O Margaret,³ thus 'twill be; and thou, poor soul,
- * Art then forsaken, as thou went'st forlorn.

2 *KEEP.* Say, what art thou, that talk'st of kings and queens ?

- ‘ *K. HEN.* More than I seem, and less than I was born to :⁴
- ‘ A man at least, for less I should not be ;⁵
And men may talk of kings, and why not I ?
- ‘ 2 *KEEP.* Ay, but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king.
- ‘ *K. HEN.* Why, so I am, in mind ;⁶ and that's enough.⁷

² *Inferreth arguments of mighty strength ;*] In the former Act was the same line :

“ Inferring arguments of mighty force.” JOHNSON.

This repetition, like many others in these two plays, seems to have arisen from Shakspeare's first copying his original as it lay before him, and afterwards in subsequent passages (added to the old matter) introducing expressions which had struck him in preceding scenes. In the old play the line occurs but once.

MALONE.

³ *O Margaret, &c.]* The piety of Henry scarce interests us more for his misfortunes, than this his constant solicitude for the welfare of his deceitful Queen. STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *less than I was born to :]* Thus the folio. The quartos thus :—for less I should not be. STEEVENS.

⁵ —— *for less I should not be ;]* Such is the reading of the folio. The quartos thus——and more I cannot be. STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king.*

K. Hen. Why, so I am, in mind ;] There seems to be an al-

2 KEEP. But, if thou be a king, where is thy crown?

K. HEN. My crown is in my heart, not on my head;

* Not deck'd with diamonds, and Indian stones,

* Nor to be seen: 'my crown is call'd, content;

* A crown it is, that seldom kings enjoy,

' *2 KEEP.* Well, if you be a king crown'd with content,

Your crown content, and you, must be contented

* To go along with us: for, as we think,

* You are the king, king Edward hath depos'd;

* And we his subjects, sworn in all allegiance,⁸

* Will apprehend you as his enemy.

* *K. HEN.* But did you never swear, and break an oath?

* *2 KEEP.* No, never such an oath, nor will not now.

* *K. HEN.* Where did you dwell, when I was king of England?

* *2 KEEP.* Here in this country, where we now remain.

* *K. HEN.* I was anointed king at nine months old;

lusion to a line in an old song, (quoted in *Every Man out of his Humour*):

"My mind to me a kingdom is." MALONE.

See Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3d edit. Vol. I. p. 293. STEEVENS.

* — and that's enough.] So the folio. The quartos thus:

" — though not in show." STEEVENS.

* *And we his subjects, &c.*] So the folio. The quartos thus:

" And therefore we charge you in God's name, and the king's,

" To go along with us unto the officers." STEEVENS.

* My father and my grandfather, were kings ;
 * And you were sworn true subjects unto me :
 * And, tell me then, have you not broke your oaths ?

* 1 *KEEP.* No ;

For we were subjects, but while you were king.

* *K. HEN.* Why, am I dead ? do I not breathe a man ?

* Ah, simple men, you know not what you swear.
 * Look, as I blow this feather from my face,
 * And as the air blows it to me again,⁹
 * Obeying with my wind when I do blow,
 * And yielding to another when it blows,
 * Commanded always by the greater gust ;
 * Such is the lightness of you common men.
 * But do not break your oaths ; for, of that sin
 * My mild entreaty shall not make you guilty.
 * Go where you will, the king shall be commanded ;
 * And be you kings ; command, and I'll obey.

* 1 *KEEP.* We are true subjects to the king, king Edward.

* *K. HEN.* So would you be again to Henry,
 * If he were seated as king Edward is.

1 *KEEP.* We charge you, in God's name, and in the king's,¹
 To go with us unto the officers.

⁹ *Look, as I blow this feather from my face,*
And as the air blows it to me again, &c.] So, in *The Winter's Tale* :

“ I am a feather for each wind that blows.” MALONE.

¹ —— and in the king's,] The preposition—*in*, which is wanting in the old copy, I have supplied for the sake of metre.

STEEVENS.

- ‘ *K. Hen.* In God’s name, lead ;² your king’s
name be obey’d :
* And what God will, then let your king perform ;
* And what he will, I humbly yield unto.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, CLARENCE, and Lady GREY.

- ‘ *K. Edw.* Brother of Gloster, at Saint Albans’ field
‘ This lady’s husband, sir John Grey,³ was slain,
His lands then seiz’d on by the conqueror :
Her suit is now, to repossess those lands ;
‘ Which we in justice cannot well deny,
Because in quarrel of the house of York
‘ The worthy gentleman did lose his life.⁴

² *In God’s name, lead ; &c.]* So the folio. Instead of this speech, the quartos have the following :

“ God’s name be fulfill’d, your king’s name be
“ Obey’d ; and be you kings ; command, and I’ll obey.”

STEEVENS.

³ —— *sir John Grey,]* Vid. Hall, *Third Year of Edward IV.* folio 5. It was hitherto falsely printed *Richard.* POPE.

Sir John Grey was slain at the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of King Henry. MALONE.

‘ His lands then seiz’d on by the conqueror :
Her suit is now, to repossess those lands ;
Which we in justice cannot well deny,
Because in quarrel of the house of York

The worthy gentleman did lose his life.] This is in every particular a falsification of history. Sir John Grey, as has been already observed, fell in the second battle of St. Albans, which

Glo. Your highness shall do well, to grant her suit;
 * It were dishonour, to deny it her.

K. EDW. It were no less; but yet I'll make a pause.

‘ *Glo.*, Yea! is it so?’

I see, the lady hath a thing to grant,
 Before the king will grant her humble suit.

CLAR. He knows the game; How true he keeps
 the wind? [Aside.]

Glo. Silence! [Aside.]

‘ *K. EDW.* Widow, we will consider⁶ of your suit;

was fought on Shrove-Tuesday, Feb. 17, 1460-1, fighting on the side of king *Henry*; and so far is it from being true that his lands were seized by the conqueror, (Queen Margaret,) that they were in fact seized by the very person who now speaks, after his great victory at Towton, on the 29th of March, 1461. The present scene is laid in 1464.

Shakspeare in new moulding this play followed implicitly his author, (for these five lines, with only a slight variation in the third, and fifth, are found in the old play,) without giving himself the trouble to examine the history; but a few years afterwards, when he had occasion to write his *Richard III.* and was not warped by a preceding misrepresentation of another writer, he stated from the chronicles this matter truly as it was; and this is one of the numerous circumstances that prove uncontestedly, in my apprehension, that he was not the original author of this and the preceding play.

In *King Richard III.* Act I, sc. iii. Richard addressing himself to Queen Elizabeth, (the lady Grey of the present scene,) says:

“ In all which time you, and your husband *Grey*,

“ Were factious for the house of *Lancaster*;

“ (And Rivers so were you :)—was not your husband

“ In *Margaret's battle* at Saint Albans slain?”

He calls it *Margaret's battle*, because she was there victorious.

MALONE.

* *Glo.* Yea! is it so? &c.] So the folio. The quartos read with the following variations:

“ *Glo.* I, is the wind in that door?

“ *Clarence.* I see the lady” &c. STEEVENS.

* *Widow, we will consider—*] This is a very lively and spritely dialogue; the reciprocation is quicker than is common in Shakespeare. JOHNSON.

- ‘ And come some other time, to know our mind.
- ‘ *L. GREY.* Right gracious lord, I cannot brook delay :
- ‘ May it please your highness to resolve me now ;
- ‘ And what your pleasure is, shall satisfy me.
- ‘ *GLO.* [Aside.] Ay, widow ? then I’ll warrant you all your lands,
- ‘ An if what pleases him, shall pleasure you.
- ‘ Fight closer, or, good faith, you’ll catch a blow.
- * *CLAR.* I fear her not, unless she chance to fall.
[Aside.]
- * *GLO.* God forbid that ! for he’ll take vantages.
[Aside.]
- ‘ *K. EDW.* How many children hast thou, widow ? tell me.
- CLAR.* I think, he means to beg a child of her.
[Aside.]
- GLO.* Nay, whip me then ; he’ll rather give her two.
[Aside.]
- L. GREY.* Three, my most gracious lord.
- GLO.* You shall have four, if you’ll be rul’d by him.
[Aside.]
- ‘ *K. EDW.* ’Twere pity, they should lose their father’s land.
- L. GREY.* Be pitiful, dread lord, and grant it then.
- K. EDW.* Lords, give us leave ; I’ll try this widow’s wit.
- GLO.* Ay good leave have you ;⁷ for you will have leave,

⁷ —— good leave have you ;] So, in *King John* :

“ Good leave ; good Philip.”

Good leave, are words implying readiness of assent.

* Till youth take leave, and leave you to the crutch.

[GLOSTER and CLARENCE retire to the other side.]

* K. EDW. Now tell me, madam, do you love your children?

* L. GREY. Ay, full as dearly as I love myself.

* K. EDW. And would you not do much, to do them good?

* L. GREY. To do them good, I would sustain some harm.

* K. EDW. Then get your husband's lands, to do them good.

* L. GREY. Therefore I came unto your majesty.

K. EDW. I'll tell you how these lands are to be got.

* L. GREY. So shall you bind me to your highness' service.

* K. EDW. What service wilt thou do me, if I give them?

* L. GREY. What you command, that rests in me to do.

* K. EDW. But you will take exceptions to my boon.

* L. GREY. No, gracious lord, except I cannot do it.

* K. EDW. Ay, but thou canst do what I mean to ask.

* L. GREY. Why, then I will do what your grace commands.

* GLO. He plies her hard; and much rain wears the marble.⁸

[Aside.]

⁸—much rain wears the marble.] So, in Watson's 47th Sonnet:

* *CLAR.* As red as fire! nay, then her wax must melt. [Aside.]

L. GREY. Why stops my lord? shall I not hear my task?

K. EDW. An easy task; 'tis but to love a king.

L. GREY. That's soon perform'd, because I am a subject.

K. EDW. Why then, thy husband's lands I freely give thee.

L. GREY. I take my leave with many thousand thanks.

GLO. The match is made; she seals it with a curt'sy.

* *K. EDW.* But stay thee, 'tis the fruits of love I mean.

* *L. GREY.* The fruits of love I mean, my loving liege.

* *K. EDW.* Ay, but, I fear me, in another sense. What love, think'st thou, I sue so much to get?

* *L. GREY.* My love till death,⁹ my humble thanks, my prayers;

* That love, which virtue begs, and virtue grants.

K. EDW. No, by my troth, I did not mean such love.

* *L. GREY.* Why, then you mean not as I thought you did.

"In time the marble weares with weakest showres."

See note on Dodsley's *Collection of Old Plays*, edit. 1780. Vol. XII. p. 387. STEEVENS.

⁹ *My love till death, &c.]* The variation is here worth noting. In the old play we here find—

" My humble service, such as subjects owe,

" And the laws command." MALONE.

* *K. EDW.* But now you partly may perceive my mind.

* *L. GREY.* My mind will never grant what I perceive

* Your highness aims at, if I aim aright.

K. EDW. To tell thee plain, I aim to lie with thee.

* *L. GREY.* To tell you plain, I had rather lie in prison.

K. EDW. Why, then thou shalt not have thy husband's lands.

L. GREY. Why, then mine honesty shall be my dower;

For by that loss I will not purchase them.

* *K. EDW.* Therein thou wrong'st thy children mightily.

L. GREY. Herein your highness wrongs both them and me.

But, mighty lord, this merry inclination

* Accords not with the sadness¹ of my suit;
Please you dismiss me, either with ay, or no.

K. EDW. Ay; if thou wilt say ay, to my request:
No; if thou dost say no, to my demand.

L. GREY. Then, no, my lord. My suit is at an end.

* *GLO.* The widow likes him not, she knits her brows. [Aside.]

CLAR. He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom.
[Aside.]

¹ —— the sadness —] i. e. the seriousness. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ Tell me in sadness who is she you love.”

‘ K. EDW. [*Aside.*] Her looks do argue her replete with modesty ;²

* Her words do show her wit incomparable ;

* All her perfections challenge sovereignty :

One way, or other, she is for a king ;

And she shall be my love, or else my queen.—

Say, that king Edward take thee for his queen ?

L. GREY. ‘ Tis better said than done, my gracious lord :

I am a subject fit to jest withal,

But far unfit to be a sovereign.

K. EDW. Sweet widow, by my state I swear to thee,

I speak no more than what my soul intends ;

And that is, to enjoy thee for my love.

L. GREY. And that is more than I will yield unto :

‘ I know, I am too mean to be your queen ;

And yet too good to be your concubine.³

² *Her looks do argue her replete with modesty ;] So the folio.*
The quartos read :

“ Her looks are all replete with majesty.” STEEVENS.

³ *And yet too good to be your concubine.] So, in Warner’s Albion’s England, 1602, B. VII. chap. xxxiv :*

“ His plea was love, my suit was land : I plie him, he plies me ;

“ Too bace to be his queen, too good his concubine to be.”

Shakspeare, however, adopted the words from Stowe’s Chronicle. STEEVENS.

These words, which are found in the old play, (except that we there have *bad*, instead of *mean*,) were taken by the author of that piece from Hall’s Chronicle : “ — whiche demaund she so wysely and with so covert speeche aunswere and repugned, affyrmyng that as she was for his honour far unable to be his spouse and bedfellowe, so for her awne poor honestie she was to good to be either his concubine, or sovereigne lady ; that where he was a littel before heated with the dart of Cupido, he was nowe,” &c. MALONE.

K. EDW. You cavil, widow; I did mean, my queen.

L. GREY. 'Twill grieve your grace, my sons should call you—father.

K. EDW. No more, than when thy daughters call thee mother.

Thou art a widow,⁴ and thou hast some children;
And, by God's mother, I, being but a bachelor,
Have other some: why, 'tis a happy thing
To be the father unto many sons.

‘ Answer no more, for thou shalt be my queen.

GLO. The ghostly father now hath done his shrift.
[*Aside.*

CLAR. When he was made a shriver, 'twas for shift.
[*Aside.*

K. EDW. Brothers, you muse what chat we two have had.

* *GLO.* The widow likes it not, for she looks sad.⁵

K. EDW. You'd think it strange if I should marry her.

CLAR. To whom, my lord?

K. EDW. Why, Clarence, to myself.

GLO. That would be ten days' wonder, at the least.

CLAR. That's a day longer than a wonder lasts.⁶

* *Thou art a widow, &c.]* This is part of the King's reply to his mother in Stowe's *Chronicle*: “That she is a widow, and hath already children; by God's blessed lady I am a batchelor, and have some too, and so each of us hath a proofe that neither of us is like to be barrain;” &c. STEEVENS.

⁵ — *she looks sad.]* Old copy—very sad. For the sake of metre I have omitted this useless adverb. STEEVENS.

⁶ *That's a day longer &c.]* A nine days wonder was prover-

‘*GLO.* By so much is the wonder in extremes.

K. EDW. Well, jest on, brothers : I can tell you both,

Her suit is granted for her husband’s lands.

Enter a Nobleman.

‘*NOB.* My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,
‘ And brought your prisoner to your palace gate.

K. EDW. See, that he be convey’d unto the Tower :—

‘ And go we, brothers, to the man that took him,
‘ To question of his apprehension.—
‘ Widow, go you along ;—Lords, use her honourable.

[*Exeunt King EDWARD, Lady GREY, CLARENCE, and Lord.*

GLO. Ay, Edward will use women honourably.
‘ Would he were wasted, marrow, bones, and all,
‘ That from his loins no hopeful branch may spring,
‘ To cross me from the golden time I look for !
‘ And yet, between my soul’s desire, and me,
*(The lustful Edward’s title buried,)
‘ Is Clarence, Henry, and his son young Edward,
‘ And all the unlook’d-for issue of their bodies,
‘ To take their rooms, ere I can place myself :
A cold premeditation for my purpose !
* Why, then I do but dream on sovereignty ;
* Like one that stands upon a promontory,
* And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,

bial. Thus, in a Sermon at Paul’s Crosse, Nov. 25, 1621, by Henry King, p. 53 : “ For mendacia diu non fallunt, and having arrived at nine days, the age of a wonder, died in laughter.”

REED.

* Wishing his foot were equal with his eye ;
 * And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,
 * Saying—he'll lade it dry to have his way :
 * So do I wish the crown, being so far off ;
 * And so I chide the means that keep me from it ;
 * And so I say—I'll cut the causes off,
 * Flattering me with impossibilities.—
 * My eye's too quick, my heart o'erweens too much,
 * Unless my hand and strength could equal them.
 * Well, say there is no kingdom then for Richard ;
 * What other pleasure can the world afford ?
 ‘ I'll make my heaven⁷ in a lady's lap,
 ‘ And deck my body in gay ornaments,
 And witch sweet ladies with my words and looks.
 ‘ O miserable thought ! and more unlikely,
 ‘ Than to accomplish twenty golden crowns !
 Why, love forswore me in my mother's womb :⁸
 ‘ And, for I should not deal in her soft laws
 ‘ She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe
 ‘ To shrink mine arm up like a wither'd shrub ;⁹
 ‘ To make an envious mountain on my back,
 Where sits deformity to mock my body ;
 ‘ To shape my legs of an unequal size ;
 * To disproportion me in every part,
 * Like to a chaos, or an unlick'd bear-whelp,¹

⁷ *I'll make my heaven &c.]* Thus the folio. The quartos alter and transpose the two lines, as follows :

I will go clad my body with gay ornaments,
 And lull myself within a lady's lap. STEEVENS.

⁸ —— *love forswore me in my mother's womb :]* This line is found also in a play entitled *Wily Beguiled*. The earliest edition that I have seen of that piece, was printed in 1606 ; but it had been exhibited on the stage soon after the year 1590. MALONE.

⁹ —— *like a wither'd shrub ;]* So the folio. The quartos—
 like a wither'd shrimp. STEEVENS.

¹ —— *unlick'd bear-whelp,]* It was an opinion which, in spite of its absurdity, prevailed long, that the bear brings forth only

* That carries no impression like the dam.
 And am I then a man to be belov'd ?
 ' O, monstrous fault, to harbour such a thought !
 * Then, since this earth affords no joy to me,
 * But to command, to check, to o'erbear such
 * As are of better person than myself,²
 * I'll make my heaven—to dream upon the crown ;
 * And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,
 * Until my misshap'd trunk that bears this head,
 * Be round impaled with a glorious crown.³
 * And yet I know not how to get the crown,
 * For many lives stand between me and home :
 * And I,—like one lost in a thorny wood,
 * That rents the thorns, and is rent with the thorns;

shapeless lumps of animated flesh, which she licks into the form of bears. It is now well known that the whelps of the bear are produced in the same state with those of other creatures.

JOHNSON.

² —— to o'erbear such

As are of better person than myself,] Richard speaks here the language of nature. Whoever is stigmatized with deformity has a constant source of envy in his mind, and would counterbalance by some other superiority those advantages which he feels himself to want. Bacon remarks that the deformed are commonly daring; and it is almost proverbially observed that they are ill-natured. The truth is, that the deformed, like all other men, are displeased with inferiority, and endeavour to gain ground by good or bad means, as they are virtuous or corrupt.

JOHNSON.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

³ *Until my misshap'd trunk that bears this head,*

Be round impaled &c.] A transposition seems to be necessary:

1 2 8 5 7 3 4 6

“ Until my head, that this misshap'd trunk bears.”

Otherwise the *trunk that bears the head* is to be encircled with the crown, and not the *head* itself. STEEVENS.

Sir T. Hanmer reads as Mr. Steevens recommends. I believe our author is answerable for this inaccuracy. MALONE.

* Seeking a way, and straying from the way ;
 * Not knowing how to find the open air,
 * But toiling desperately to find it out,—
 * Torment myself to catch the English crown :
 * And from that torment I will free myself,
 * Or hew my way out with a bloody axe.

Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile ;
 ‘ And cry, content, to that which grieves my heart ;
 * And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
 * And frame my face to all occasions.
 * I’ll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall ;
 * I’ll slay more gazers than the basilisk ;
 * I’ll play the orator as well as Nestor,
 * Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could,
 * And, like a Sinon, take another Troy :
 I can add colours to the cameleon ;
 ‘ Change shapes, with Proteus, for advantages,
 ‘ And set the murd’rous Machiavel to school.⁴

— *impaled*] i. e. encircled. So, in Heywood’s *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630 :

“ Tear off the crown that yet *empales* his temples.”

STEEVENS.

* *And set the murd’rous Machiavel to school.]* As this is an anachronism, and the old quarto reads :

“ And set the aspiring Catiline to school—.”

I don’t know why it should not be preferred. WARBURTON.

This is not the first proof I have met with, that Shakspeare, in his attempts to familiarize ideas, has diminished their propriety.

STEEVENS.

Catiline first occurred to the author of the old play, who was probably a scholar; and Machiavel, who is mentioned in various books of our author’s age, as the great exemplar of profound politicians, naturally was substituted by Shakspeare in his room. See this play, P. I. Act V. sc. iv :

“ Alençon ! that notorious Machiavel !”

In King Edward II. Marlowe, who was probably the author of *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, in like manner introduces Catiline :

Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?

‘ Tut! were it further off, I’ll pluck it down.

[*Exit.*

SCENE III.

France. *A Room in the Palace.*

Flourish. Enter LEWIS the French King, and Lady BONA, attended; the King takes his State. Then enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD her Son, and the Earl of OXFORD.

- ‘ *K. LEW.* Fair queen of England,⁵ worthy Margaret, [Rising.]
- ‘ Sit down with us; it ill befits thy state,
- ‘ And birth, that thou should’st stand, while Lewis doth sit.
- * *Q. MAR.* No, mighty king of France; ⁶now Margaret

“ Spencer, the father of that wanton Spencer,
“ That like the lawless *Catiline* of Rome,
“ Revell’d in England’s wealth and treasury.” MALONE.

⁵ *Fair queen of England, &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos give the following:

“ Welcome, queen Margaret, to the court of France.
“ It fits not Lewis to sit whilst thou dost stand,
“ Sit by my side; and here I vow to thee,
“ Thou shalt have aid to re-possess thy right,
“ And beat proud Edward from his usurped seat,
“ And place king Henry in his former rule.”

STEEVENS.

See the notes referred to in p. 74, n. 3. MALONE.

⁶ *No, mighty king of France; &c.*] Instead of this speech the quartos only supply the following:

“ Queen. I humbly thank your royal majesty,
“ And pray the God of heaven to bless thy state,
“ Great king of France, that thus regard’st our wrongs.”

STEEVENS.

* Must strike her sail, and learn a while to serve,
 * Where kings command. I was, I must confess,
 * Great Albion's queen in former golden days :
 * But now mischance hath trod my title down,
 * And with dishonour laid me on the ground ;
 * Where I must take like seat unto my fortune,
 * And to my humble seat conform myself.

* *K. Lew.* Why, say, fair queen, whence springs
 this deep despair ?

* *Q. Mar.* From such a cause as fills mine eyes
 with tears,

* And stops my tongue, while heart is drown'd in
 cares.

* *K. Lew.* Whate'er it be, be thou still like thy-
 self,

* And sit thee by our side : yield not thy neck
 [*Seats her by him.*

* To fortune's yoke, but let thy dauntless mind

* Still ride in triumph over all mischance.

* Be plain, queen Margaret, and tell thy grief ;

* It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief.

* *Q. Mar.* Those gracious words revive my
 drooping thoughts,

* And give my tongue-tied sorrows leave to speak.

* Now, therefore, be it known to noble Lewis,—

* That Henry, sole possessor of my love,

* Is, of a king, become a banish'd man,

* And forc'd to live in Scotland a forlorn ;

* While proud ambitious Edward, duke of York,

* Usurps the regal title, and the seat

* Of England's true-anointed lawful king.

* This is the cause, that I, poor Margaret,—

* With this my son, prince Edward, Henry's heir,—

* Am come to crave thy just and lawful aid ;

* And, if thou fail us, all our hope is done :

* Scotland hath will to help, but cannot help ;
* Our people and our peers are both misled,
* Our treasure seiz'd, our soldiers put to flight,
* And, as thou see'st, ourselves in heavy plight.

- * *K. Lew.* Renowned queen, with patience calm
the storm,
* While we bethink a means to break it off.
* *Q. Mar.* The more we stay, the stronger grows
our foe.
* *K. Lew.* The more I stay, the more I'll succour
thee.
* *Q. Mar.* O, but impatience waiteth on true
sorrow :
* And see, where comes the breeder of my sorrow.

Enter Warwick,⁷ attended.

- * *K. Lew.* What's he, approacheth boldly to our
presence ?

⁷ *Enter Warwick,*] This nobleman's embassy and commission, the insult he receives by the King's hasty marriage, and his consequent resolution to avenge it, with the capture, imprisonment, and escape of the King, Shakspeare, it is true, found in Hall and Holinshed; but later, as well as earlier writers, of better authority, incline us to discredit the whole; and to refer the rupture between the King and his political creator, to causes which have not reached posterity, or to that jealousy and ingratitude so natural, perhaps, to those who are under great obligations too great to be discharged. *Beneficia*, (says Tacitus,) *eo usque lata sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse : ubi multum antevenire, pro gratiâ odium redditur.*

There needs no other proof how little our common histories are to be depended upon than this fabulous story of Warwick and the Lady Bona. The King was privately married to Lady Elizabeth Widville, in 1463, and in February 1465, Warwick actually stood sponsor to the Princess Elizabeth their first child. What secretly displeased him was: 1. the King's marrying one of the Queen's sisters to the Duke of Buckingham; 2. his con-

Q. MAR. Our earl of Warwick, Edward's greatest friend.

K. LEW. Welcome, brave Warwick! What brings thee to France?

[*Descending from his state. Queen MARGARET rises.*

* *Q. MAR.* Ay, now begins a second storm to rise;

* For this is he, that moves both wind and tide.

‘ *WAR.* From worthy Edward, king of Albion,
My lord and sovereign, and thy vowed friend,
I come,—in kindness, and unfeigned love,—
First, to do greetings to thy royal person;
And, then, to crave a league of amity;
And, lastly, to confirm that amity
With nuptial knot, if thou vouchsafe to grant
That virtuous lady Bona, thy fair sister,
To England's king in lawful marriage.

‘ *Q. MAR.* If that go forward, Henry's hope is done.⁸

ferring the office of Lord Treasurer (which he had taken from the Lord Montjoy,) upon Lord Rivers, the Queen's brother; 3. his making a match between the son and heir of the Lord Herbert and another of the Queen's sisters; and between that nobleman's daughter and the young Lord Lisle; and creating young Herbert Knight and Lord of Dunstar; 4, his making a match between Sir Thomas Grey, the Queen's son, and Lady Ann daughter and heiress of the Duke of Exeter, the King's niece, who had been talked of as a wife for the Earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother. See *Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales*, which are unfortunately defective from the beginning of November 1468, at which time no open rupture had taken place between the King and Warwick, who, for any thing that appears to the contrary, were, at least, *upon speaking terms*.

RITSON.

⁸ —— *Henry's hope is done.*] So the folio. The quartos read: —*all our hope is done.* STEEVENS.

We have had nearly the same line in Margaret's former speech p. 119. The line having made an impression on Shakspeare, he

WAR. And, gracious madam, [To BONA.] in our king's behalf,

' I am commanded, with your leave and favour,
Humbly to kiss your hand, and with my tongue
To tell the passion of my sovereign's heart ;
Where fame, late entering at his heedful ears,
Hath plac'd thy beauty's image, and thy virtue.'

Q. MAR. King Lewis,—and lady Bona,—hear me speak,

' Before you answer Warwick. His demand¹
* Springs not from Edward's well-meant honest love,
* But from deceit, bred by necessity ;
* For how can tyrants safely govern home,
* Unless abroad they purchase great alliance ?
* To prove him tyrant, this reason may suffice,—
* That Henry liveth still : but were he dead,
* Yet here prince Edward stands, king Henry's son.
* Look therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage
* Thou draw not on thy danger and dishonour :
* For though usurpers sway the rule a while,
* Yet the heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs.

WAR. Injurious Margaret !

PRINCE. And why not queen ?

introduced it in that speech, which appears (except in this instance) to have been entirely his own production; and afterwards inadvertently suffered it with a slight variation to remain here, where only it is found in the old play. MALONE.

⁹ *Hath plac'd thy beauty's image, and thy virtue.]* So the folio. The quarto thus :

" Hath plac'd thy glorious image, and thy virtues."

STEEVENS.

¹ —— *His demand &c.]* Instead of the remainder of this speech the old play has the following lines :

" ——— hear me speak,

" Before you answer Warwick, or his words,

" For he it is hath done us all these wrongs." MALONE.

WAR. Because thy father Henry did usurp ;
And thou no more art prince, than she is queen.

OXF. Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt,

Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain ;
And, after John of Gaunt, Henry the fourth,
‘ Whose wisdom was a mirror to the wisest ;’
And, after that wise prince, Henry the fifth,
Who by his prowess conquered all France :
From these our Henry lineally descends.

WAR. Oxford, how haps it, in this smooth discourse,

You told not, how Henry the sixth hath lost
All that which Henry the fifth had gotten ?
Methinks, these peers of France should smile at
that.

But for the rest,—You tell a pedigree
Of threescore and two years ; a silly time
To make prescription for a kingdom’s worth.

‘ *OXF.* Why, Warwick, canst thou speak against
thy liege,
‘ Whom thou obeyed’st thirty and six years,’
And not bewray thy treason with a blush ?

WAR. Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,
Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree ?
For shame, leave Henry, and call Edward king.

‘ *OXF.* Call him my king, by whose injurious
doom

² —— *to the wisest;*] So the folio. The quartos — *to the world.* STEEVENS.

³ —— *thirty and six years,*] So the folio. The quartos — thirty and eight years. STEEVENS.

The number in the old play is right. The alteration, however, is of little consequence. MALONE.

‘ My elder brother, the lord Aubrey Vere,
 Was done to death ? and more than so, my father,
 Even in the downfall of his mellow’d years,
 ‘ When nature brought him to the door of death?⁴
 No, Warwick, no ; while life upholds this arm,
 This arm upholds the house of Lancaster.

WAR. And I the house of York.

K. LEW. Queen Margaret, prince Edward, and Oxford,

‘ Vouchsafe, at our request, to stand aside,
 ‘ While I use further conference with Warwick.

* *Q. MAR.* Heaven grant, that Warwick’s words
 bewitch him not !

[*Retiring with the Prince and OXFORD.*

‘ *K. LEW.* Now Warwick, tell me, even upon
 thy conscience,

‘ Is Edward your true king ? for I were loath,
 ‘ To link with him that were not lawful chosen.⁵

* *When nature brought him to the door of death ?]* Thus the folio. The quartos :

“ *When age did call him to the door of death.*”

STEEVENS.

This passage unavoidably brings before the mind that admirable image of *old age* in Sackville’s *Induction*:

“ *His withered fist still knocking at deathe’s dore,*” &c.

FARMER.

* —— *that were not lawful chosen.*] Thus the folio. The quarto as follows :

“ —— *that is not lawful heir.*” STEEVENS.

Here we have another instance of an impropriety into which Shakspeare has fallen by sometimes following and sometimes deserting his original. After Lewis has asked in the old play whether Henry was *lawful heir* to the crown of England, and has been answered in the affirmative; he next enquires whether he is *gracious*, that is, a favourite with the people. Shakspeare has preserved this latter question, though he made a variation in the former ; not adverting that after a man has been *chosen* by the voices of the people to be their king, it is quite superfluous to ask

WAR. Thereon I pawn my credit and mine honour.

K. LEW. But is he gracious in the people's eye?

WAR. The more, that Henry was unfortunate.⁶

K. LEW. Then further,—all dissembling set aside,
‘ Tell me for truth the measure of his love
‘ Unto our sister Bona.

WAR. Such it seems,
As may beseem a monarch like himself.
Myself have often heard him say, and swear,—
That this his love was an eternal plant;⁷
Whereof the root was fix'd in virtue's ground,
The leaves and fruit maintain'd with beauty's sun;

whether he is popular or no.—Edward was in fact *chosen* king, both by the parliament and by a large body of the people assembled in St. John's fields. See Fabian, who wrote about fifty years after the time, p. 472, and Stowe, p. 688, edit. 1605.

MALONE.

I do not perceive the impropriety of the King's question, or the cogency of the remark founded on it. Is it impossible that a king, elected by his people, should soon afterwards become unpopular? STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *that Henry was unfortunate.*] He means, that Henry was unsuccessful in war, having lost his dominions in France, &c.

MALONE.

⁷ *That this his love was an eternal plant;*] The old quarto reads rightly *eternal*; alluding to the plants of Paradise.

WARBURTON.

In the language of Shakspeare's time, by an *eternal* plant was meant what we now call a *perennial* one. STEEVENS.

The folio reads—an *external* plant; but as that word seems to afford no meaning, and as Shakspeare has adopted every other part of this speech as he found it in the old play, without alteration, I suppose *external* was a mistake of the transcriber or printer, and have therefore followed the reading of the quarto.

MALONE.

Exempt from envy, but not from disdain,^{*}
Unless the lady Bona quit his pain.

K. LEW. Now, sister, let us hear your firm resolve.

BONA. Your grant, or your denial, shall be mine:—

Yet I confess, [To WAR.] that often ere this day,
When I have heard your king's desert recounted,
Mine ear hath tempted judgment to desire.

* **K. LEW.** Then, Warwick, thus,—Our sister shall be Edward's;

* And now forthwith shall articles be drawn

* Touching the jointure that your king must make,

* Which with her dowry shall be counterpois'd:—

Draw near, queen Margaret; and be a witness,
That Bona shall be wife to the English king.

PRINCE. To Edward, but not to the English king.

* **Q. MAR.** Deceitful Warwick! it was thy device

* By this alliance to make void my suit;

* Before thy coming, Lewis was Henry's friend.

* **K. LEW.** And still is friend to him and Margaret:

* But if your title to the crown be weak,—

^{*} Exempt from envy, but not from disdain,] Envy is always supposed to have some fascinating or blasting power; and to be out of the reach of envy is therefore a privilege belonging only to great excellence. I know not well why *envy* is mentioned here, or whose *envy* can be meant; but the meaning is, that his love is superior to *envy*, and can feel no blast from the lady's *disdain*. Or that, if Bona refuse to *quit* or *requite* his pain, his love may turn to *disdain*, though the consciousness of his own merit will exempt him from the pangs of *envy*. JOHNSON.

I believe *envy* is in this place, as in many others, put for *malice* or *hatred*. His situation places him above these, though it cannot secure him from female *disdain*. STEEVENS.

- * As may appear by Edward's good success,—
- * Then 'tis but reason, that I be releas'd
- * From giving aid, which late I promised.
- * Yet shall you have all kindness at my hand,
- * That your estate requires, and mine can yield.

WAR. Henry now lives in Scotland, at his ease ;
Where having nothing, nothing he can lose.
And as for you yourself, our *quondam* queen,—
You have a father able⁹ to maintain you ;
And better 'twere, you troubled him than France.

* *Q. MAR.* Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace ;¹

- * Proud setter-up and puller-down of kings !²
- * I will not hence, till with my talk and tears,
- * Both full of truth, I make king Lewis behold
- * Thy sly conveyance,³ and thy lord's false love ;
- * For both of you are birds of self-same feather.

[*A Horn sounded within.*

K. LEW. Warwick, this is some post to us, or thee.

⁹ *You have a father able*—] This seems ironical. The poverty of Margaret's father is a very frequent topick of reproach.

JOHNSON.

¹ *Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace ;*] the word *peace*, at the end of this line, is wanting in the first folio, but is supplied by the second. STEEVENS.

² *Proud setter-up and puller-down of kings !*] The Queen here applies to Warwick, the very words that Edward, p. 76, addresses to the Deity. M. MASON.

See p. 76, n. 7. The repetition has been already accounted for, in p. 102, n. 2, &c. MALONE.

³ *Thy sly conveyance,*] Conveyance is *juggling*, and thence is taken for artifice and fraud. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Richard II* :

“ — conveyers are you all,

“ That rise thus nimbly by a true king's fall.”

STEEVENS.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord ambassador, these letters are for you ;
 Sent from your brother, marquis Montague.
 These from our king unto your majesty.—
 And, madam, these for you ; from whom, I know not.

[To MARGARET. *They all read their Letters.*

OXF. I like it well, that our fair queen and mistress

Smiles at her news, while Warwick frowns at his.

PRINCE. Nay, mark, how Lewis stamps as he were nettled ;

* I hope, all's for the best.

* *K. LEW.* Warwick, what are thy news ? and yours, fair queen ?

* *Q. MAR.* Mine, such as fill my heart with unhop'd joys.

WAR. Mine, full of sorrow and heart's discontent.

K. LEW. What ! has your king married the lady Grey ?

* And now, to sooth your forgery and his,*

* Sends me a paper to persuade me patience ?

* Is this the alliance that he seeks with France ?

* Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner ?

* *Q. MAR.* I told your majesty as much before : This proveth Edward's love, and Warwick's honesty.

WAR. King Lewis, I here protest,—in sight of heaven,

* —— to sooth your forgery and his,] To soften it, to make it more durable : or perhaps, to sooth us, and to prevent our being exasperated by your forgery and his. MALONE.

And by the hope I have of heavenly bliss,—
 That I am clear from this misdeed of Edward's;
 No more my king, for he dishonours me ;
 But most himself, if he could see his shame.—
 Did I forget, that by the house of York
 My father came untimely to his death ?⁵
 Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece ?⁶
 Did I impale him with the regal crown ?
 Did I put Henry from his native right ;⁷
 And am I guerdon'd⁸ at the last with shame ?
 * Shame on himself ! for my desert is honour.
 * And, to repair my honour lost for him,

⁵ *Did I forget, that by the house of York*

My father came untimely to his death?] Warwick's father came untimely to his death, being taken at the battle of Wakefield, and beheaded at Pomfret. But the author of the old play imagined he fell at the action at Ferry-bridge, and has in a former scene, to which this line refers, (See p. 74, n. 3,) described his death as happening at that place. Shakspeare very properly rejected that description of the death of the Earl of Salisbury; of whose death no mention is made in this play, as it now stands; yet he has inadvertently retained this line which alludes to a preceding description that he had struck out; and this is another proof of his falling into inconsistencies, by sometimes following, and sometimes deserting, his original. MALONE.

⁶ *Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?]* Thus Holinshed, p. 668 : “ King Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would have defloured his daughter or his niece, the certaintie was not for both their honours revealed,) for surely such a thing was attempted by king Edward.” STEEVENS.

⁷ *Did I put Henry from his native right ; &c.]* Thus the folio. The quartos read:

“ And thrust king Henry from his native home?

“ And (most ungrateful) doth he use me thus ?”

STEEVENS.

⁸ ——*guerdon'd*—] i. e. rewarded. So, in P. II. of this play:

“ See you well *guerdon'd* for these good deserts.”

STEEVENS.

* I here renounce him, and return to Henry :
 ' My noble queen, let former grudges pass,
 And henceforth I am thy true servitor ;
 I will revenge his wrong to lady Bona,
 And replant Henry in his former state.

' *Q. MAR.* Warwick, these words have turn'd
 my hate to love ;
 ' And I forgive and quite forget old faults,
 ' And joy that thou becom'st king Henry's friend.

WAR. So much his friend, ay, his unfeigned
 friend,
 That, if king Lewis vouchsafe to furnish us
 With some few bands of chosen soldiers,
 I'll undertake to land them on our coast,
 And force the tyrant from his seat by war.
 ' Tis not his new-made bride shall succour him :

* And as for Clarence,—as my letters tell me,
 * He's very likely now to fall from him ;
 * For matching more for wanton lust than honour,
 * Or then for strength and safety of our country.

* *BONA.* Dear brother, how shall Bona be re-
 veng'd,
 * But by thy help to this distressed queen ?

* *Q. MAR.* Renowned prince, how shall poor
 Henry live,

* Unless thou rescue him from foul despair ?

* *BONA.* My quarrel, and this English queen's,
 are one.

* *WAR.* And mine, fair lady Bona, joins with
 yours.

* *K. LEW.* And mine, with hers, and thine, and
 Margaret's.

Therefore, at last, I firmly am resolv'd,
 You shall have aid.

* *Q. MAR.* Let me give humble thanks for all at once.

K. LEW. Then England's messenger, return in post;

And tell false Edward, thy supposed king,—
That Lewis of France is sending over maskers,
To revel it with him and his new bride:

* Thou seest what's past, go fear thy king⁹ withal.

BONA. Tell him, In hope he'll prove a widower shortly,

I'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

Q. MAR. Tell him, My mourning weeds are laid aside,

And I am ready to put armour on.¹

WAR. Tell him from me, That he hath done me wrong;

And therefore I'll uncrown him, ere't be long.

There's thy reward;² be gone. [Exit Mess.

K. LEW. But, Warwick, thou, And Oxford, with five thousand men, Shall cross the seas, and bid false Edward battle:³

⁹ —— *go fear thy king*—] That is, *fright thy king*. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Henry IV.* P. II:

“The people fear me” &c. STEEVENS.

¹ —— *to put armour on.*] It was once no unusual thing for queens themselves to appear in armour at the head of their forces. The suit which Elizabeth wore, when she rode through the lines at Tilbury to encourage the troops, on the approach of the armada, may be still seen in the Tower. STEEVENS.

² —— *thy reward*;] Here we are to suppose that, according to ancient custom, Warwick makes a present to the Herald or Messenger, whom the original copies call—a Post. See Vol. XII. p. 405, n. 8. STEEVENS.

³ —— *and bid false Edward battle*:] This phrase is common to many of our ancient writers. So, in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, a dramatick performance, 1587:

- * And, as occasion serves, this noble queen
- * And prince shall follow with a fresh supply.
- ‘ Yet, ere thou go, but answer me one doubt ;—
- ‘ What pledge have we of thy firm loyalty ?

WAR. This shall assure my constant loyalty :—
That if our queen and this young prince agree,
I'll join mine eldest daughter, and my joy,
To him forthwith⁴ in holy wedlock bands.

“ ————— my flesh abhors
“ To bid the battle to my proper blood.” STEEVENS.

“ I'll join mine eldest daughter, and my joy,
To him forthwith —] Surely this is a mistake of the copy-
ists. Hall, in the ninth year of King Edward IV. says : “ Ed-
ward prince of Wales wedded Anne *second* daughter to the earl
of Warwick.” And the Duke of Clarence was in love with the
elder, the Lady Isabel ; and in reality was married to her five
years before Prince Edward took the Lady Anne to wife. And,
in *King Richard the Third*, Gloster, who married this Lady Anne
when a widow, says :

“ For then I'll marry Warwick's *youngest* daughter.
“ What though I kill'd her husband and her father ??”

i. e. Prince Edward, and King Henry VI. her father-in-law.
See likewise Holinshed, in his *Chronicle*, p. 671 and 674.

THEOBALD.

This is a departure from the truth of history, for Edward
Prince of Wales (as Mr. Theobald has observed,) was married
to Anne, *second* daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

But notwithstanding this, his reading [*youngest* daughter] has,
I think, been improperly adopted by the subsequent editors ; for
though in fact the Duke of Clarence married Isabella, the *eldest*
daughter of Warwick, in 1468, and Edward Prince of Wales
married Anne, his *second* daughter, in 1470 ; *neither* of his
daughters was married at the time when Warwick was in France
negociating a marriage between Lady Bona and his King : so
that there is no inconsistency in the present proposal. Supposing,
however, that the original author of this play made a mistake,
and imagined that the *youngest* daughter of Warwick was mar-

‘ *Q. MAR.* Yes, I agree,⁵ and thank you for your motion :—

- ‘ Son Edward, she is fair and virtuous,
- ‘ Therefore delay not, give thy hand to Warwick ;
- ‘ And, with thy hand, thy faith irrevocable,
- ‘ That only Warwick’s daughter shall be thine.

* *PRINCE.* Yes, I accept her, for she well deserves it ;

* And here, to pledge my vow, I give my hand.

[*He gives his hand to WARWICK.*

* *K. LEW.* Why stay we now ? These soldiers shall be levied,

* And thou, lord Bourbon,⁶ our high admiral,

ried to Clarence, I apprehend he, and not his editor, ought to answer for it.

This is one of the numerous circumstances which prove that Shakspeare was not the *original* author of this play ; for though here, as in a former passage, (p. 112, n. 4.) he has followed the old drama, when he afterwards wrote his *King Richard III.* and found it necessary to consult the ancient historians, he represented Lady Anne, as she in fact was, the widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, and the *youngest* daughter of the Earl of Warwick. MALONE.

Is it improbable then that Shakspeare should have become more accurate as he grew older ? Might he not, previous to the composition of a later play, have furnished himself with that knowledge of history which was wanting in his dramatick performance of an earlier date ? STEEVENS.

* *Yes, I agree, &c.]* Instead of this speech, the quarto has only the following :

“ With all my heart ; I like this match full well.

“ Love her, son Edward ; she is fair and young ;

“ And give thy hand to Warwick, for his love.”

STEEVENS.

* *And thou, lord Bourbon, &c.]* Instead of this and the three following lines, we have these in the old play :

“ And you, lord Bourbon, our high admiral,

“ Shall waft them safely to the English coasts ;

‘ Shall waft them over with our royal fleet.—
‘ I long, till Edward fall by war’s mischance,
‘ For mocking marriage with a dame of France.

[*Exeunt all but WARWICK.*]

WAR. I came from Edward as ambassador,
But I return his sworn and mortal foe :
Matter of marriage was the charge he gave me,
But dreadful war shall answer his demand.
Had he none else to make a stale,⁷ but me ?
Then none but I shall turn his jest to sorrow.
I was the chief that rais’d him to the crown,
And I’ll be chief to bring him down again :
Not that I pity Henry’s misery,
But seek revenge on Edward’s mockery. [*Exit.*

“ *And chase proud Edward from his slumb’ring trance,*
“ *For mocking marriage with the name of France.”*

MALONE.

⁷ —— to make a stale,] i. e. *stalking-horse, pretence.* So, in
The Comedy of Errors:

“ —— poor I am but his *stale.*”

See Act II. sc. i. STEEVENS.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter GLOSTER, CLARENCE, SOMERSET, MONTAGUE, and Others.

* *GLO.* Now tell me, brother Clarence,⁸ what think you

* Of this new marriage with the lady Grey?

* Hath not our brother made a worthy choice?

* *CLAR.* Alas, you know, 'tis far from hence to France;

* How could he stay till Warwick made return?

* *SOM.* My lords, forbear this talk; here comes the king.

* *Now tell me, brother Clarence,*] In the old play the King enters here along with his brothers, not after them, and opens the scene thus:

" *Edw.* Brothers of Clarence and of Gloucester,

" What think you of our marriage with the lady Grey?

" *Glo.* My lord, we think as Warwick and Lewis,

" That are so slack in judgment that they'll take

" No offence at this sudden marriage.

" *Edw.* Suppose they do, they are but Lewis and Warwick;

" And I am your king and Warwick's; and will be

" Obey'd.

" *Glo.* And shall, because you are our king;

" But yet such sudden marriages seldom proveth well.

" *Edw.* Yea, brother Richard, are you against us too?"

MALONE.

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, attended ; Lady GREY, as Queen ; PEMBROKE, STAFFORD, HASTINGS, and Others.⁹

* *GLO.* And his well-chosen bride.

* *CLAR.* I mind to tell him plainly what I think.

• *K. EDW.* Now, brother of Clarence, how like you our choice,

• That you stand pensive, as half malcontent ?

• *CLAR.* As well as Lewis of France, or the earl of Warwick ;

• Which are so weak of courage, and in judgment,

• That they'll take no offence at our abuse.

• *K. EDW.* Suppose, they take offence without a cause,

• They are but Lewis and Warwick ; I am Edward,

• Your king and Warwick's, and must have my will.

• *GLO.* And you shall have your will, because our king :

• Yet hasty marriage seldom proveth well.

K. EDW. Yea, brother Richard, are you offended too ?¹

• *GLO.* Not I :

• No ; God forbid, that I should wish them sever'd

• Whom God hath join'd together : ay, and 'twere pity,

To sunder them that yoke so well together.

⁹ The stage direction in the folio, [*Four stand on one side, and four on the other.*] is sufficient proof that the play, as exhibited there, was printed from a stage copy. I suppose these eight important personages were attendants. STEEVENS.

¹ —— are you offended too ?] So the folio. The quartos :

“ —— are you against us too ?” STEEVENS.

- ‘ *K. EDW.* Setting your scorns, and your mislike,
 aside,
- ‘ Tell me some reason, why the lady Grey
‘ Should not become my wife, and England’s
 queen :—
- ‘ And you too, Somerset,² and Montague,
- ‘ Speak freely what you think.
- ‘ *CLAR.* Then this is my opinion,³—that king
 Lewis
- ‘ Becomes your enemy, for mocking him
- ‘ About the marriage of the lady Bona.
- ‘ *GLO.* And Warwick, doing what you gave in
 charge,
- ‘ Is now dishonoured by this new marriage.
- ‘ *K. EDW.* What, if both Lewis and Warwick
 be appeas’d,
- ‘ By such invention as I can devise ?
- MONT.* Yet to have join’d with France in such
 alliance,
Would more have strengthen’d this our common-
 wealth
- ‘ Gaint foreign storms, than any home-bred mar-
 riage.
- ‘ *HAST.* Why, knows not Montague, that of it-
 self

² *And you too, Somerset, &c.]* In the old play Somerset does not appear in this scene. MALONE.

³ *Clar. Then this is my opinion,—&c.]* Instead of this and the following speech, the quartos read thus :

“ *Clar.* My lord, then this is my opinion ;
 “ That Warwick, being dishonour’d in his embassage,
 “ Doth seek revenge, to quit his injuries.
 “ *Glo.* And Lewis, in regard of his sister’s wrongs,
 “ Doth join with Warwick to supplant your state.”

STEEVENS.

• England is safe, if true within itself?⁴

* MONT. Yes; but the safer, when 'tis back'd with France.⁵

* HAST. 'Tis better using France, than trusting France:

* Let us be back'd with God, and with the seas,⁶

* Which he hath given for fence impregnable,

* And with their helps only defend ourselves;

* In them, and in ourselves, our safety lies.

CLAR. For this one speech, lord Hastings well deserves

• To have the heir of the lord Hungerford.

• K. EDW. Ay, what of that? it was my will, and grant;

⁴ Why, knows not Montague, that of itself

England is safe, if true within itself?] In the old play these lines stand thus:

“ Let England be true within itself,

“ We need not France nor any alliance with them.”

It is observable that the first of these lines occurs in the old play of *King John*, 1591, from which our author borrowed it, and inserted it with a slight change in his own play with the same title. MALONE.

The original of this sentiment is probably to be found in DR. ANDREW BORDE'S *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, bl. l. printed for Copland, Sign. A 4.

See Vol. X. p. 535. Neither the lapse of two centuries, nor any circumstance which has occurred during that eventful period, has in any degree shook the credit of this observation, or impaired the confidence of the publick in the truth of it. “ England is and will be still safe, if true within itself.” REED.

⁵ Yes; but the safer, &c.] Thus the second folio. Yes, in the first, is omitted. STEEVENS.

⁶ —— with the seas,] This has been the advice of every man who in any age understood and favoured the interest of England. JOHNSON.

* And, for this once, my will shall stand for law.

‘ *GLO.* And yet, methinks,⁷ your grace hath not done well,

‘ To give the heir and daughter of lord Scales

‘ Unto the brother of your loving bride ;

‘ She better would have fitted me, or Clarence :

‘ But in your bride you bury brotherhood.

‘ *CLAR.* Or else you would not have bestow’d the heir⁸

‘ Of the lord Bonville on your new wife’s son,

‘ And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere.

K. EDW. Alas, poor Clarence ! is it for a wife,

‘ That thou art malcontent ? I will provide thee.

‘ *CLAR.* In choosing for yourself, you show’d your judgment ;

‘ Which being shallow, you shall give me leave

‘ To play the broker in mine own behalf ;

‘ And, to that end, I shortly mind to leave you.

‘ *K. EDW.* Leave me, or tarry, Edward will be king,

‘ And not be tied unto his brother’s will.

‘ *Q. ELIZ.* My lords, before it pleas’d his majesty

⁷ *And yet, methinks, &c.]* The quartos vary from the folio, as follows :

“ *Cla.* Ay, and for such a thing too, the lord Scales

“ Did well deserve at your hands, to have the

“ Daughter of the lord Bonfield, and left your

“ Brothers to go seek elsewhere; but in your madness

“ You bury brotherhood.” STEEVENS.

‘ — you would not have bestow’d the heir —] It must be remembered, that till the Restoration, the heiresses of great estates were in the wardship of the King, who in their minority gave them up to plunder, and afterwards matched them to his favourites. I know not when liberty gained more than by the abolition of the court of wards. JOHNSON.

‘ To raise my state to title of a queen,
 ‘ Do me but right, and you must all confess
 ‘ That I was not ignoble of descent,⁹
 * And meaner than myself have had like fortune.
 * But as this title honours me and mine,
 * So your dislikes, to whom I would be pleasing,
 * Do cloud my joys with danger and with sorrow.

‘ *K. EDW.* My love, forbear to fawn upon their frowns :¹

‘ What danger, or what sorrow can befall thee,
 ‘ So long as Edward is thy constant friend,
 ‘ And their true sovereign, whom they must obey?
 ‘ Nay, whom they shall obey, and love thee too,
 ‘ Unless they seek for hatred at my hands :
 ‘ Which if they do, yet will I keep thee safe,
 ‘ And they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath.

* *GLO.* I hear, yet say not much, but think the more. [Aside.]

Enter a Messenger.

‘ *K. EDW.* Now, messenger, what letters, or what news,
 From France ?

⁹ — *I was not ignoble of descent,*] Her father was Sir Richard Widville, Knight, afterwards Earl of Rivers; her mother, Jaqueline, Duchess Dowager of Bedford, who was daughter to Peter of Luxemburgh, Earl of Saint Paul, and widow of John Duke of Bedford, brother to King Henry V. MALONE.

¹ *My love, forbear &c.*] Instead of this and the following speech, the old play has only these lines :

“ *Edw.* Forbear, my love, to fawne upon their frowns,
 “ For thee they must obey, nay, shall obey,
 “ And if they look for favour at my hands.

“ *Mont.* My lord, here is the messenger return'd from Fraunce.” MALONE.

- *Mess.* My sovereign liege, no letters ; and few words,
- But such as I, without your special pardon,
Dare not relate.
- *K. EDW.* Go to, we pardon thee : therefore, in brief,
- Tell me their words as near as thou canst guess them.
- What answer makes king Lewis unto our letters ?

Mess. At my depart, these were his very words ;
Go tell false Edward, thy supposed king,—
That Lewis of France is sending over maskers,
To revel it with him and his new bride.

- *K. EDW.* Is Lewis so brave ? belike, he thinks me Henry.
- But what said lady Bona to my marriage ?²

Mess. These were her words, utter'd with mild disdain ;
Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,
I'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

- *K. EDW.* I blame not her, she could say little less ;
- She had the wrong. But what said Henry's queen ?
- For I have heard, that she was there in place.³

Mess. *Tell him, quoth she, my mourning weeds are done,*⁴
And I am ready to put armour on.

² —— *to my marriage?*] The quartos read—
 “ —— to these wrongs.” STEEVENS.

³ —— *she was there in place.*] This expression, signifying, she was there *present*, occurs frequently in old English writers.

MALONE.

En place, a Gallicism. STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *are done,*] i. e. are consumed, thrown off. The word

‘ *K. EDW.* Belike, she minds to play the Amazon.
But what said Warwick to these injuries ?

‘ *MESS.* He, more incens’d against your majesty
‘ Than all the rest, discharg’d me with these words;
Tell him from me, that he hath done me wrong,
And therefore I’ll uncrown him, ere’t be long.

K. EDW. Ha ! durst the traitor breathe out so
proud words ?

- ‘ Well, I will arm me, being thus forewarn’d :
- ‘ They shall have wars, and pay for their presump-
tion.
- ‘ But say, is Warwick friends with Margaret ?

MESS. Ay, gracious sovereign ; they are so link’d
in friendship,

- ‘ That young prince Edward marries Warwick’s
daughter.

CLAR. Belike, the elder ; Clarence will have the
younger.⁵

- * Now, brother king, farewell, and sit you fast,
- * For I will hence to Warwick’s other daughter ;
- * That, though I want a kingdom, yet in marriage

is often used in this sense by the writers of our author’s age.
So, in his *Rape of Lucrece* :

“ And if possess’d, as soon decay’d and done
“ As is the morning’s silver-melting dew.” MALONE.

⁵ *Belike, the elder ; Clarence will have the younger.]* I have
ventured to make *elder* and *younger* change places in this line
against the authority of all the printed copies. The reason of it
will be obvious. THEOBALD.

Clarence having in fact married Isabella, the *elder* daughter
of Warwick, Mr. Theobald made *elder* and *younger* change
places in this line ; in which he has been followed, I think, im-
properly, by the subsequent editors : The author of the old play,
where this line is found, might from ignorance or intentionally
have deviated from history, in his account of the person whom
Clarence married. See a former note, p. 131, n. 4. MALONE.

* I may not prove inferior to yourself.—

You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.⁶

[Exit CLARENCE, and SOMERSET follows.]

* GLO. Not I:⁷

* My thoughts aim at a further matter; I

* Stay not for love of Edward, but the crown.

[Aside.]

K. EDW. Clarence and Somerset both gone to Warwick!

* Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen;

* And haste is needful in this desperate case.—

⁶ You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.] That Clarence should make this speech in the King's hearing is very improbable, yet I do not see how it can be palliated. The King never goes out, nor can Clarence be talking to a company apart, for he answers immediately to that which the Post says to the King.

JOHNSON.

When the Earl of Essex attempted to raise a rebellion in the city, with a design, as was supposed, to storm the Queen's palace, he ran about the streets with his sword drawn, crying out, "They that love me, follow me." STEEVENS.

Clarence certainly speaks in the hearing of the King, who immediately after his brother has retired, exclaims, that he is gone to join with Warwick.

This line is in the old quarto play. One nearly resembling it is likewise found in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594:

" Myself will lead the way,

" And make a passage with my conquering sword,

" Knee-deep in blood of these accursed Moors

" And they that love my honour, follow me."

So also, in our author's *King Richard III*:

" The rest that love me, rise, and follow me."

MALONE.

⁷ Glo. Not I:] After Clarence goes out, we have in the old play the following dialogue; part of which Shakspeare rejected, and transposed the rest:

" Edw. Clarence and Somerset fled to Warwick!

" What say you, brother Richard, will you stand to us?" &c. MALONE.

See note 9, in the following page. STEEVENS.

‘ Pembroke, and Stafford,⁸ you in our behalf
 ‘ Go levy men, and make prepare for war ;
 ‘ They are already, or quickly will be landed :
 ‘ Myself in person will straight follow you.

[*Exeunt PEMBROKE and STAFFORD.*

‘ But, ere I go, Hastings,—and Montague,—
 ‘ Resolve my doubt. You twain, of all the rest,
 ‘ Are near to Warwick, by blood, and by alliance :
 ‘ Tell me, if you love Warwick more than me ?
 ‘ If it be so, then both depart to him ;
 ‘ I rather wish you foes, than hollow friends ;
 ‘ But if you mind to hold your true obedience,
 ‘ Give me assurance with some friendly vow,
 ‘ That I may never have you in suspect.

MONT. So God help Montague, as he provest true !

HAST. And Hastings, as he favours Edward’s cause !

‘ *K. EDW.* Now, brother Richard, will you stand by us ?

GLO. Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you.⁹

* *Pembroke, and Stafford, &c.]* The quartos give the passage thus :

“ Pembroke, go raise an army presently ;
 “ Pitch up my tent ; for in the field this night
 “ I mean to rest ; and, on the morrow morn,
 “ I’ll march to meet proud Warwick, ere he land
 “ Those straggling troops which he hath got in France.
 “ But ere I go, Montague and Hastings, you
 “ Of all the rest are nearest allied in blood
 “ To Warwick ; therefore tell me if you favour
 “ Him more than me, or not ; speak truly, for
 “ I had rather have you open enemies
 “ Than hollow friends.” STEEVENS.

* *Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you.]* The quartos continue the speech thus :

‘ *K. EDW.* Why so ; then am I sure of victory.
 ‘ Now therefore let us hence ; and lose no hour,
 ‘ Till we meet Warwick with his foreign power.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

A Plain in Warwickshire.

Enter WARWICK and OXFORD, with French and other Forces.

WAR. Trust me, my lord, all hitherto goes well ;
 The common people by numbers swarm to us.

Enter CLARENCE and SOMERSET.

But, see, where Somerset and Clarence come ;—
 Speak suddenly, my lords, are we all friends ?

CLAR. Fear not that, my lord.

WAR. Then, gentle Clarence, welcome unto
 Warwick ;

And welcome, Somerset :—I hold it cowardice,
 To rest mistrustful where a noble heart
 Hath pawn'd an open hand in sign of love ;
 Else might I think, that Clarence, Edward's brother,
 Were but a feigned friend to our proceedings :
 But welcome, Clarence ;¹ my daughter shall be thine.

“ Ay, my lord, in despight of all that shall withstand you ;
 “ For why hath nature made me halt downright
 “ But that I should be valiant, and stand to it ?
 “ For if I would, I cannot run away.” STEEVENS.

¹ *But welcome, Clarence ;]* Old copy, redundantly,—sweet Clarence. STEEVENS.

And now what rests, but, in night's coverture,
 Thy brother being carelessly encamp'd,
 His soldiers lurking in the towns about,²
 And but attended by a simple guard,
 We may surprize and take him at our pleasure ?
 Our scouts have found the adventure very easy :³
 * That as Ulysses,⁴ and stout Diomede,
 * With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents,
 * And brought from thence the Thracian fatal
 steeds ;⁵
 * So we, well cover'd with the night's black mantle,
 * At unawares may beat down Edward's guard,
 * And seize himself ; I say not—slaughter him,
 * For I intend but only to surprize him.—
 ' You, that will follow me to this attempt,
 ' Applaud the name of Henry, with your leader.

[*They all cry, Henry !*

* *His soldiers lurking in the towns about,*] Old copies—*town*.
 STEEVENS.

Dr. Thirlby advised the reading *towns* here; the guard in the scene immediately following says :

“ — but why commands the king,
 “ That his chief followers lodge in *towns* about him ?”
 THEOBALD.

³ — *very easy :*] Ere the quartos conclude this speech, adding only the following lines :

“ Then cry king Henry with resolved minds,
 “ And break we presently into his tent.” STEEVENS.

* *That as Ulysses, &c.*] See the tenth book of the *Iliad*. These circumstances, however, were accessible, without reference to Homer in the original. STEEVENS.

⁵ — the Thracian *fatal* steeds ;] We are told by some of the writers on the Trojan story, that the capture of these horses was one of the necessary preliminaries to the fate of Troy.

STEEVENS.

Why, then, let's on our way in silent sort :
 For Warwick and his friends, God and Saint
 George !⁶ [Exeunt.

SCENE III.

Edward's Camp, near Warwick.

Enter certain Watchmen, to guard the King's Tent.

- * 1 WATCH. Come on, my masters, each man take his stand ;
- * The king, by this, is set him down to sleep.
- * 2 WATCH. What, will he not to-bed ?
- * 1 WATCH. Why, no : for he hath made a solemn vow
- * Never to lie and take his natural rest,
- * Till Warwick, or himself, be quite suppress'd.
- * 2 WATCH. To-morrow then, belike, shall be the day,
- * If Warwick be so near as men report.
- * 3 WATCH. But say, I pray, what nobleman is that,
- * That with the king here resteth in his tent ?
- * 1 WATCH. 'Tis the lord Hastings, the king's chiefest friend.

“ — and Saint George !] After the two concluding lines of this scene, which in the old play are given not to Warwick but to Clarence, we there find the following speeches, which Shakespeare has introduced in a subsequent place :

“ War. This is his tent; and see where his guard doth stand.

“ Courage, my soldiers; now or never.

“ But follow me now, and Edward shall be ours.

“ All. A Warwick, a Warwick ! ” MALONE.

- * 3 WATCH. O, is it so ? But why commands the king,
- * That his chief followers lodge in towns about him,
- * While he himself keepeth in the cold field ?
- * 2 WATCH. 'Tis the more honour, because more dangerous.
- * 3 WATCH. Ay ; but give me worship and quietness,
- * I like it better than a dangerous honour.⁷
- * If Warwick knew in what estate he stands,
- * 'Tis to be doubted, he would waken him.
- * 1 WATCH. Unless our halberds did shut up his passage.
- * 2 WATCH. Ay ; wherefore else guard we his royal tent,
- * But to defend his person from night-foes ?

Enter WARWICK, CLARENCE, OXFORD, SOMERSET, and Forces.

- * WAR. This is his tent ; and see, where stand his guard.
- * Courage, my masters : honour now, or never !
- * But follow me, and Edward shall be ours.
- 1 WATCH. Who goes there ?
- * 2 WATCH. Stay, or thou diest.

[WARWICK, and the rest, cry all—Warwick ! Warwick ! and set upon the Guard ; who fly, crying—Arm ! Arm ! WARWICK, and the rest, following them.

⁷ *I like it better than a dangerous honour.*] This honest Watchman's opinion coincides with that of Falstaff. See Vol. XI. p. 406. STEEVENS.

The Drum beating, and Trumpets sounding, Re-enter WARWICK, and the rest, bringing the King out in a Gown, sitting in a Chair: GLOSTER and HASTINGS fly.

‘ *SOM.* What are they that fly there?

‘ *WAR.* Richard, and Hastings: let them go, here’s the duke.

K. EDW. The duke! why, Warwick, when we parted last,⁸

Thou call’dst me king.

WAR. Ay, but the case is alter’d:

‘ When you disgrac’d me in my embassade,

‘ Then I degraded you from being king,

And come now to create you duke of York.⁹

Alas! how should you govern any kingdom,

That know not how to use ambassadors;

Nor how to be contented with one wife;

Nor how to use your brothers brotherly;

* Nor how to study for the people’s welfare;

Nor how to shrowd yourself from enemies?

* *K. EDW.* Yea, brother¹ of Clarence, art thou here too?

⁸ —— when we parted last,] The word *last*, which is found in the old play, was inadvertently omitted in the folio.

MALONE.

⁹ And come now to create you duke of York.] Might we not read, with a slight alteration?

And come to new-create you duke of York. JOHNSON.

¹ Yea, brother &c.] In the old play this speech consists of only these two lines:

“ Well, Warwick, let fortune do her worst,

“ Edward in mind will bear himself a king.”

Henry has made the same declaration in a former scene.

MALONE.

- * Nay, then I see, that Edward needs must down.—
- ‘ Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance,
- ‘ Of thee thyself, and all thy complices,
- ‘ Edward will always bear himself as king :
- * Though fortune’s malice overthrow my state,
- * My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel.

WAR. Then, for his mind, be Edward England’s king :² [Takes off his Crown.]

- But Henry now shall wear the English crown,
 - * And be true king indeed ; thou but the shadow.—
 - ‘ My lord of Somerset, at my request,
 - ‘ See that forthwith duke Edward be convey’d
 - ‘ Unto my brother, archbishop of York.
 - ‘ When I have fought with Pembroke and his fel-
 - lows,
 - ‘ I’ll follow you, and tell what answer
 - ‘ Lewis, and the lady Bona, send to him :—
- Now, for a while, farewell, good duke of York.

- * *K. EDW.* What fates impose, that men must needs abide ;
- * It boots not to resist both wind and tide.
[Exit King EDWARD, led out ; SOMERSET with him.]
- * *OXF.* What now remains,³ my lords, for us to do,
- * But march to London with our soldiers ?

² *Then, for his mind, be Edward England’s king :]* That is, in his mind ; as far as his own mind goes. M. MASON.

³ *What now remains, &c.]* Instead of this and the following speech, the quartos have :

“ *Clar.* What follows now ? all hitherto goes well.
“ But we must dispatch some letters into France,

WAR. Ay, that's the first thing that we have to do;
 ‘ To free king Henry from imprisonment,
 And see him seated in the regal throne. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter Queen ELIZABETH and RIVERS.*⁴

‘ *RIV.* Madam, what makes you in this sudden change?

“ To tell the queen of our happy fortune;
 “ And bid her come with speed to join with us.
 “ *War.* Ay, that's the first thing that we have to do,
 “ And free king Henry from imprisonment,
 “ And see him seated on the regal throne.
 “ Come, let's away; and having past these cares,
 “ I'll post to York, and see how Edward fares.”

STEEVENS.

‘ *Enter—Rivers.*] Throughout this scene the quartos vary in almost every speech from the folio. The variations, however, are hardly such as to deserve notice. STEEVENS.

They are, however, so marked, as to prove decisively, I think, that either Shakspeare wrote two distinct pieces on this subject at different periods, or that the play as exhibited in the folio was his, and that in quarto the production of a preceding writer. Let the second speech of Rivers be read with this view:

“ What losse? of some pitcht battaile against Warwicke?
 “ Tush, feare not, fair queene, but cast these cares aside.
 “ King Edward's noble mind his honour doth display,
 “ And Warwick may lose, though then he got the day.”

See also the speech of Clarence quoted in the last note.

MALONE.

Would not this prove rather too much, as a similar inference might be drawn from the two copies of *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1597 and 1599? STEEVENS.

‘ Q. ELIZ. Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn,

‘ What late misfortune is befall’n king Edward?

RIV. What, loss of some pitch’d battle against Warwick?

‘ Q. ELIZ. No, but the loss of his own royal person.

‘ RIV. Then is my sovereign slain?

‘ Q. ELIZ. Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner;

‘ Either betray’d by falsehood of his guard,

‘ Or by his foe surpriz’d at unawares:

‘ And, as I further have to understand,

‘ Is new committed to the bishop of York,

‘ Fell Warwick’s brother, and by that our foe.

‘ RIV. These news, I must confess, are full of grief:

‘ Yet, gracious madam, bear it as you may;

‘ Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day.

* Q. ELIZ. Till then, fair hope must hinder life’s decay.

* And I the rather wean me from despair,

* For love of Edward’s offspring in my womb:

* This is it that makes me bridle passion,

* And bear with mildness my misfortune’s cross;

* Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,

* And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,

* Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown

‘ King Edward’s fruit, true heir to the English crown.

* RIV. But, madam, where is Warwick then become?

‘ Q. ELIZ. I am informed, that he comes towards London,

* To set the crown once more on Henry's head :
 * Guess thou the rest ; king Edward's friends must
 down.

' But, to prevent the tyrant's violence,
 ' (For trust not him that hath once broken faith,))
 ' I'll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary,
 ' To save at least the heir of Edward's right ;
 ' There shall I rest secure from force, and fraud.
 ' Come therefore, let us fly, while we may fly ;
 ' If Warwick take us, we are sure to die.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.⁵

A Park near Middleham⁶ Castle in Yorkshire.

*Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, Sir WILLIAM STANLEY,
 and Others.*

' *Glo.* Now, my lord Hastings,⁷ and sir William
 Stanley,
 ' Leave off to wonder why I drew you hither,

⁵ *Scene V.]* In new forming these pieces Shakspeare transposed not only many lines and speeches, but some of the scenes. This scene in the original play precedes that which he has made the fourth scene of this Act. MALONE.

⁶ *A Park near Middleham—]* Shakspeare follows his authority Holinshed, in the representation here given of King Edward's capture and imprisonment. But honest Raphael misled him, as he himself was misled by his predecessor Hall. The whole is untrue: Edward was never in the hands of Warwick.

RITSON.

⁷ *Now, my lord Hastings, &c.]* I shall insert the speech corresponding to this in the old play, as the comparison will show the reader in what manner Shakspeare proceeded, where he

- ‘ Into this chiefest thicket of the park.
- ‘ Thus stands the case : You know, our king, my brother,
- ‘ Is prisoner to the bishop here, at whose hands
- ‘ He hath good usage and great liberty ;
- ‘ And often, but attended with weak guard,
- ‘ Comes hunting this way to disport himself.
- ‘ I have advértis’d him by secret means,
- ‘ That if about this hour, he make this way,
- ‘ Under the colour of his usual game,
- ‘ He shall here find his friends, with horse and men,
- ‘ To set him free from his captivity.

Enter King EDWARD, and a Huntsman.

- ‘ *HUNT.* This way, my lord; for this way lies the game.
- ‘ *K. EDW.* Nay, this way, man ; see, where the huntsmen stand.—
- ‘ Now, brother of Gloster, lord Hastings, and the rest,
- ‘ Stand you thus close, to steal the bishop’s deer ?

merely retouched and expanded what he found in the elder drama, without the addition of any new matter :

“ *Glo.* Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanley,
“ Know that the cause I sent for you is this.
“ I look my brother with a slender train
“ Should come a hunting in this forest here.
“ The bishop of York befriends him much,
“ And lets him use his pleasure in the chase.
“ Now I have privily sent him word
“ How I am come with you to rescue him ;
“ And see where the huntsman and he doth come.”

MALONE.

- ‘ *Glo.* Brother, the time and case requireth haste;
 ‘ Your horse stands ready at the park corner.
 ‘ *K. EDW.* But whither shall we then?
 ‘ *HAST.* To Lynn, my lord; and ship⁸ from
 thence to Flanders.
 ‘ *Glo.* Well guess’d, believe me; for that was
 my meaning.
 ‘ *K. EDW.* Stanley, I will requite thy forward-
 ness.
 * *Glo.* But wherefore stay we? ’tis no time to
 talk.
 ‘ *K. EDW.* Huntsman, what say’st thou? wilt thou
 go along?
 ‘ *HUNT.* Better do so, than tarry and be hang’d.
 * *Glo.* Come then, away; let’s have no more
 ado.
 ‘ *K. EDW.* Bishop, farewell: shield thee from
 Warwick’s frown;
 And pray that I may reposess the crown.

[*Exeunt.*

⁸ —— and ship—] The first folio has *shipt*. The correction
 was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

SCENE VI.

A Room in the Tower.

Enter King HENRY, CLARENCE, WARWICK, SOMERSET, young RICHMOND, OXFORD, MONTAGUE, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Attendants.

- * *K. HEN.* Master lieutenant, now that God and friends
- * Have shaken Edward from the regal seat ;
- * And turn'd my captive state to liberty,
- * My fear to hope, my sorrows unto joys ;
- * At our enlargement what are thy due fees ?
- * *LIEU.* Subjects may challenge nothing of their sovereigns ;
- * But, if an humble prayer may prevail,
- * I then crave pardon of your majesty.
- * *K. HEN.* For what, lieutenant ? for well using me ?
- * Nay, be thou sure, I'll well requite thy kindness,
- * For that it made my imprisonment a pleasure :
- * Ay, such a pleasure as incaged birds
- * Conceive, when, after many moody thoughts,
- * At last, by notes of household harmony,
- * They quite forget their loss of liberty.—
- * But, Warwick, after God, thou set'st me free,
- * And chiefly therefore I thank God, and thee ;
- * He was the author, thou the instrument.
- * Therefore, that I may conquer fortune's spite,
- * By living low, where fortune cannot hurt me ;
- * And that the people of this blessed land

* May not be punish'd with my thwarting stars;
 • Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,
 • I here resign my government to thee,
 • For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds.

* *WAR.* Your grace hath still been fam'd for virtuous;

* And now may seem as wise as virtuous,
 * By spying, and avoiding, fortune's malice,
 * For few men rightly temper with the stars:⁹
 * Yet in this one thing let me blame your grace,
 * For choosing me, when Clarence is in place.¹

* *CLAR.* No, Warwick, thou art worthy of the sway,

* To whom the heavens, in thy nativity,
 * Adjudg'd an olive branch, and laurel crown,
 * As likely to be blest in peace, and war;
 * And therefore I yield thee my free consent.

* *WAR.* And I choose Clarence only for protector.

* *K. HEN.* Warwick, and Clarence, give me both your hands;

* Now join your hands, and, with your hands, your hearts,
 * That no dissention hinder government:
 • I make you both protectors of this land;
 • While I myself will lead a private life,
 • And in devotion spend my latter days,
 To sin's rebuke, and my Creator's praise.

⁹ — *few men rightly temper with the stars:*] I suppose the meaning is, that few men conform their *temper* to their destiny; which King Henry did, when finding himself unfortunate he gave the management of publick affairs to more prosperous hands.

JOHNSON.

¹ — *in place.*] i. e. here present. See p. 140, n. 3.

STEEVENS.

WAR. What answers Clarence to his sovereign's will?

* *CLAR.* That he consents, if Warwick yield consent;

* For on thy fortune I repose myself.

* *WAR.* Why then, though loath, yet must I be content:

* We'll yoke together, like a double shadow

* To Henry's body, and supply his place;

* I mean, in bearing weight of government,

* While he enjoys the honour, and his ease.

* And, Clarence, now then it is more than needful,

* Forthwith that Edward be pronounc'd a traitor,

* And all his lands and goods be confiscate.²

CLAR. What else? and that succession be determin'd.

* *WAR.* Ay, therein Clarence shall not want his part.

* *K. HEN.* But, with the first of all your chief affairs,

* Let me entreat, (for I command no more,)

* That Margaret your queen, and my son Edward,

* Be sent for, to return from France with speed:

* For, till I see them here, by doubtful fear

* My joy of liberty is half eclips'd.

² *And all his lands and goods be confiscate.*] For the insertion of the word *be*, which the defect of the metre proves to have been accidentally omitted in the old copy, I am answerable.

MALONE.

Mr. Malone's emendation is countenanced by the following passage in *The Comedy of Errors*:

“Lest that thy goods too soon *be confiscate.*”

The second folio, however, reads—confiscated; and perhaps this reading is preferable, because it excludes the disagreeable repetition of the auxiliary verb—*be*. STEEVENS.

- CLAR. It shall be done, my sovereign, with all speed.
- ‘ K. HEN. My lord of Somerset, what youth is that,
- ‘ Of whom you seem to have so tender care ?
- ‘ SOM. My liege, it is young Henry, earl of Richmond.
- ‘ K. HEN. Come hither, England’s hope : If secret powers
[Lays his Hand on his Head.]
- ‘ Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
- ‘ This pretty lad³ will prove our country’s bliss.

³ *This pretty lad—*] He was afterwards Henry VII. a man who put an end to the civil war of the two houses, but no otherwise remarkable for virtue. Shakspeare knew his trade. Henry VII. was grandfather to Queen Elizabeth, and ‘the King from whom James inherited. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare only copied this particular, together with many others, from Holinshed :—“whom when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him : Lo, surelie this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries, leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give roome and place.” P. 678.

This pretty lad will prove our country’s bliss.] Thus the folio. The quartos thus :

“ Thou, pretty boy, shalt prove this country’s bliss.”
STEEVENS.

Holinshed transcribed this passage almost *verbatim* from Hall, whom the author of the old play, as I conceive, copied. This speech originally stood thus :

“ Come hither, pretty lad. If heavenly powers
 “ Do aim aright, to my divining soul,
 “ Thou, pretty boy, shalt prove this country’s bliss;
 “ Thy head is made to wear a princely crown ;
 “ Thy looks are all replete with majesty :
 “ Make much of him, my lords,” &c.

Henry Earl of Richmond was the son of Edmond Earl of Richmond, and Margaret, daughter to John the first Duke of Somerset. Edmond Earl of Richmond was half-brother to King Henry the Sixth, being the son of that King’s mother Queen

‘ His looks are full of peaceful majesty ;
 ‘ His head by nature fram’d to wear a crown,
 ‘ His hand to wield a scepter ; and himself
 ‘ Likely, in time, to bless a regal throne.
 Make much of him, my lords ; for this is he,
 ‘ Must help you more than you are hurt by me.

Enter a Messenger.

- * *WAR.* What news, my friend ?
- * *MESS.* That Edward is escaped from your brother,
- * And fled, as he hears since, to Burgundy.
- * *WAR.* Unsavoury news : But how made he escape ?
- * *MESS.* He was convey’d by Richard duke of Gloster,
- * And the lord Hastings, who attended him⁴
- * In secret ambush on the forest side,
- * And from the bishop’s huntsmen rescued him ;
- * For hunting was his daily exercise.
- * *WAR.* My brother was too careless of his charge.—

Catharine, by her second husband Owen Teuther or Tudor, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Mortimer’s Cross, and soon afterwards beheaded at Hereford.

Henry the Seventh, to show his gratitude to Henry the Sixth for this early presage in his favour, solicited Pope Julius to canonize him as a saint ; but either Henry would not pay the money demanded, or, as Bacon supposes, the Pope refused, lest “as Henry was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, the estimation of that kind of honour might be diminished, if there were not a distance kept between *innocents* and *saints*.”

MALONE.

⁴ — attended him —] i. e. waited for him. So, in *Coriolanus*:

“ I am attended at the cypress grove.” STEEVENS.

* But let us hence, my sovereign, to provide

* A salve for any sore that may betide.

[*Exeunt King HENRY, WAR. CLAR. Lieut. and Attendants.*

* *SOM.* My lord, I like not of this flight of Edward's :

* For, doubtless, Burgundy will yield him help ;

* And we shall have more wars, before't be long.

* As Henry's late presaging prophecy

* Did glad my heart, with hope of this young Richmond ;

* So doth my heart misgive me, in these conflicts

* What may befall him, to his harm, and ours :

* Therefore, lord Oxford, to prevent the worst,

* Forthwith we'll send him hence to Britany,

* Till storms be past of civil enmity.

* *OXF.* Ay ; for, if Edward repossess the crown,

* 'Tis like, that Richmond with the rest shall down.

* *SOM.* It shall be so ; he shall to Britany.

* Come therefore, let's about it speedily.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VII.⁵

Before York.

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and Forces.

* *K. EDW.* Now, brother Richard,⁶ lord⁷ Hastings, and the rest ;

⁵ *Scene VII.*] This scene in the old play precedes that which Shakspeare has made the sixth of the present Act. MALONE.

⁶ *Now, brother Richard, &c.]* Instead of this and the three following speeches, the quartos read only :

‘ Yet thus far fortune maketh us amends,
 ‘ And says—that once more I shall interchange
 ‘ My waned state for Henry’s regal crown.
 ‘ Well have we pass’d, and now repass’d the seas,
 ‘ And brought desired help from Burgundy :
 ‘ What then remains, we being thus arriv’d
 ‘ From Ravenspurg haven before the gates of York,⁸
 ‘ But that we enter, as into our dukedom?

“ Enter Edward and Richard, with a troop of Hollanders.

“ Edw. Thus far from Belgia have we past the seas,

“ And march’d from Raunspur-haven unto York:

“ But soft! the gates are shut; I like not this.

“ Rich. Sound up the drum, and call them to the walls.”

STEEVENS.

7 —— lord —] Mr. M. Mason recommends the omission of this word. REED.

— lord Hastings, and the rest ;] “ Leave out the word *lord*, ” says one of our author’s commentators. If we do not closely attend to his phraseology and metre, and should think ourselves at liberty to substitute modern phraseology and modern metre, almost every line in his plays might be altered.—*Brother*, like many similar words, (*rather*, *whether*, *either*, &c.) is here used by Shakspeare, as a monosyllable, and the metre was to his ear perfect. MALONE.

That there is a marked discrimination between ancient and modern phraseology, no man will deny; but, surely, ancient and modern five-foot verses can have no corresponding difference. Where, in general, shall we find more perfect and harmonious metre than that of Shakspeare? His irregular lines are therefore justly suspected of having suffered from omission or interpolation.—As to the latter part of Mr. Malone’s note, in which *brother* is said to be used as a monosyllable,—*valeat quantum valere potest.* STEEVENS.

Malone says that *brother* is to be pronounced as one syllable; but that alone will not be sufficient to complete the metre. We must also lay the accent on the last syllable of the word *Richard*, and the line must run thus :

“ Now bro’r Richárd, Lord Hastings and the rest.”
 which would not be very harmonious. M. MASON.

8 From Ravenspurch haven before the gates of York,] We may infer from the old quarto (See note 6, in the preceding page,)

‘ *Glo.* The gates made fast!—Brother, I like not this;

* For many men, that stumble at the threshold,

* Are well foretold—that danger lurks within.

* *K. EDW.* Tush, man! abodeiments must not now affright us:

* By fair or foul means we must enter in,

* For hither will our friends repair to us.

* *HAST.* My liege, I’ll knock once more, to summon them.

Enter, on the Walls, the Mayor of York, and his Brethren.

‘ *MAY.* My lords, we were forewarned of your coming,

‘ And shut the gates for safety of ourselves;

‘ For now we owe allegiance unto Henry.

‘ *K. EDW.* But, master mayor, if Henry be your king,

‘ Yet Edward, at the least, is duke of York.

‘ *MAY.* True, my good lord; I know you for no less.

‘ *K. EDW.* Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom;

* As being well content with that alone.

‘ *GLO.* But, when the fox hath once got in his nose,

‘ He’ll soon find means to make the body follow.

[*Aside.*]

that *Ravensburgh* was occasionally pronounced as a dissyllable—*Raunspurgh*. This line will therefore become strictly metrical, if we read (adopting an elision common to Shakspeare:—)

“ From Ravensburgh haven ’fore the gates of York.”

STEEVENS.

‘ *HAST.* Why, master mayor, why stand you in a doubt?

Open the gates, we are king Henry’s friends.

‘ *MAY.* Ay, say you so? the gates shall then be open’d. [*Exeunt from above.*]

‘ *GLO.* A wise stout captain, and persuaded soon!¹⁹

* *HAST.* The good old man would fain that all were well,¹

* So ’twere not ’long of him: but, being enter’d,

* I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade

* Both him, and all his brothers, unto reason.

Re-enter the Mayor and Two Aldermen, below.

‘ *K. EDW.* So, master mayor: these gates must not be shut,

‘ But in the night, or in the time of war.

‘ What! fear not, man, but yield me up the keys; [*Takes his Keys.*]

‘ For Edward will defend the town, and thee,

‘ And all those friends that deign to follow me.

Drum. Enter MONTGOMERY, and Forces, marching.

GLO. Brother, this is sir John Montgomery,
Our trusty friend, unless I be deceiv’d.

‘ *K. EDW.* Welcome, sir John! But why come you in arms?

⁹ —— persuaded soon!] Old copy—soon persuaded. This transposition, which requires no apology, was made by Sir T. Hanmer. STEEVENS.

¹ *The good old man would fain that all were well,]* The Mayor is willing we should enter, so he may not be blamed.

JOHNSON.

MONT. To help king Edward in his time of storm,
As every loyal subject ought to do.

‘ *K. EDW.* Thanks, good Montgomery: But we now forget

‘ Our title to the crown; and only claim

‘ Our dukedom, till God please to send the rest.

‘ *MONT.* Then fare you well, for I will hence again;

I came to serve a king, and not a duke.—

‘ Drummer, strike up, and let us march away.

[*A March begun.*

‘ *K. EDW.* Nay, stay, sir John, awhile; and we'll debate,

‘ By what safe means the crown may be recover'd.

‘ *MONT.* What talk you of debating? in few words,

‘ If you'll not here proclaim yourself our king,

‘ I'll leave you to your fortune; and be gone,

To keep them back that come to succour you:

Why should we fight, if you pretend no title?

‘ *GLO.* Why, brother, wherefore stand you on nice points?

* *K. EDW.* When we grow stronger, then we'll make our claim:

* Till then, 'tis wisdom to conceal our meaning.

* *HAST.* Away with scrupulous wit! now arms must rule.

* *GLO.* And fearless minds climb soonest unto crowns.

* Brother, we will proclaim you out of hand;

* The bruit² thereof will bring you many friends.

² The bruit—] i. e. noise, report. So, in Preston's *Cambyses*:

* *K. EDW.* Then be it as you will; for 'tis my right,

* And Henry but usurps the diadem.

MONT. Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like himself;

And now will I be Edward's champion.

HAST. Sound, trumpet; Edward shall be here proclaim'd:—

* Come, fellow-soldier, make thou proclamation.

[*Gives him a Paper. Flourish.*

SOLD. [Reads.] *Edward the fourth, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, &c.*

MONT. And whosoe'er gainsays king Edward's right,

By this I challenge him to single fight.

[*Throws down his Gauntlet.*

ALL. Long live Edward the fourth!

* *K. EDW.* Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and thanks unto you all.³

“ —whose manly acts do fly

“ By bruit of fame.”—

See Vol. X. p. 287, n. 1. STEEVENS.

This French word *bruit* was very early made a denizen of our language. Thus in the Bible: “Behold the noise of the *bruit* is come.”—*Jeremiah, x. 22.* WHALLEY.

The word *bruit* is found in Bullokar's *English Expositor*, 8vo. 1616, and is defined “A reporte spread abroad.” MALONE.

³ *Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and thanks unto you all.]* Surely we ought to read:

“ Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and thanks to all.”

Instead of this speech, the quartos have only the following:

“ *Edw.* We thank you all: lord mayor, lead on the way.

“ For this night we will harbour here in York;

“ And then as early as the morning sun

‘ If fortune serve me, I’ll requite this kindness.
 ‘ Now, for this night, let’s harbour here in York :
 ‘ And, when the morning sun shall raise his car
 ‘ Above the border of this horizon,
 ‘ We’ll forward towards Warwick, and his mates ;
 ‘ For, well I wot, that Henry is no soldier.—
 * Ah, foward Clarence!—how evil it beseems thee,
 * To flatter Henry, and forsake thy brother !
 * Yet, as we may, we’ll meet both thee and War-
 wick.—
 * Come on, brave soldiers; doubt not of the day;
 * And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VIII.⁴

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter King HENRY, WARWICK, CLARENCE, MON-
TAGUE, EXETER, and OXFORD.*

WAR. What counsel, lords? Edward from Bel-
gia,
With hasty Germans, and blunt Hollanders,

“ Lifts up his beams above this horizon,
 “ We’ll march to London to meet with Warwick,
 “ And pull false Henry from the regal throne.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ *Scene VIII.]* This scene is, perhaps, the worst contrived of any in these plays. Warwick has but just gone off the stage when Edward says :

“ And towards Coventry bend we our course,
 “ Where peremptory Warwick now remains.”

M. MASON.

This scene in the original play follows immediately after Henry’s observation on young Richmond, which is in the sixth scene of the present play. MALONE.

Hath pass'd in safety through the narrow seas,
And with his troops doth march amain to London;
‘ And many giddy people flock to him.

* *Oxf.* Let's levy men, and beat him back again.⁵

Clar. A little fire is quickly trodden out;
Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench.

War. In Warwickshire I have true-hearted
friends,
Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war;
Those will I muster up:—and thou, son Clarence,
‘ Shalt stir, in Suffolk,⁶ Norfolk, and in Kent,

⁵ *Let's levy men, and beat him back again.*] This line expresses a spirit of war so unsuitable to the character of Henry, that I would give the first cold speech to the King, and the brisk answer to Warwick. This line is not in the old quarto; and when Henry said nothing, the first speech might be as properly given to Warwick as to any other. JOHNSON.

Every judicious reader must concur in Dr. Johnson's opinion, as far as it relates to the second of these two speeches.

STEEVENS.

This line is given in the folio to the King, to whom it is so unsuitable, that I have no doubt it was merely a printer's error. I have not, however, assigned it to Warwick, and the preceding speech to Henry, as Dr. Johnson proposes, because it appears to me safer to take the old play as a guide; in which, as in Shakespeare's piece, the first speech is attributed to Warwick. The second speech is given to *Oxford*, and stands thus:

“ *Oxf.* ’Tis best to look to this betimes;
“ For if this fire do kindle any further
“ It will be hard for us to quench it out.”

Shakspeare, in new-modelling this scene, probably divided this speech between Oxford and Clarence, substituting the line before us in the room of the words—“ ’Tis best to look to this betimes.” I have therefore given this line to Oxford. It might with equal, or perhaps with more propriety, be assigned to Warwick's brother, Montague. MALONE.

⁶ *Shalt stir, in Suffolk, &c.*] The old copy—stir up. But the omission of the adverb, which hurts the metre, is justified by the following passages in *King John*, &c.—

‘ The knights and gentlemen to come with thee:—
 ‘ Thou, brother Montague, in Buckingham,
 ‘ Northampton, and in Leicestershire, shalt find
 ‘ Men well inclin’d to hear what thou command’st:—
 And thou, brave Oxford, wondrous well belov’d,
 In Oxfordshire shalt muster up thy friends.—
 My sovereign, with the loving citizens,—
 * Like to his island, girt in with the ocean,
 * Or modest Dian, circled with her nymphs,—
 Shall rest in London, till we come to him.—
 Fair lords, take leave, and stand not to reply.—
 Farewell, my sovereign.

K. HEN. Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy’s true hope.⁷

* *CLAR.* In sign of truth, I kiss your highness’ hand.

* *K. HEN.* Well-minded Clarence, be thou fortunate!

“ I’ll stir them to it:—Come, away, away!”

Again, *ibid.*:

“ An Até stirring him to war and strife.”

Again, in *King Lear*:

“ If it be you that stir these daughters’ hearts

“ Against their father,—” STEEVENS.

⁷ ——my Hector, and my Troy’s true hope.] This line having probably made an impression on our author, when he read over the old play, he has applied the very same expression to the Duke of York, where his overthrow at Wakefield is described, and yet suffered the line to stand here as he found it:

“ Environed he was with many foes,

“ And stood against them, as the hope of Troy

“ Against the Greeks.”

The two latter lines, as the reader may find in p. 50, were new, no trace of them being there found in the old play. Many similar repetitions may be observed in this *Third Part of King Henry VI.* from the same cause. MALONE.

- * *Mont.* Comfort, my lord ;—and so I take my leave.
- * *Oxf.* And thus [*Kissing Henry's hand.*] I seal my truth, and bid adieu.
- * *K. Hen.* Sweet Oxford, and my loving Montague,
- * And all at once, once more a happy farewell.
- War.* Farewell, sweet lords ; let's meet at Coventry.
- [*Exeunt War. Clar. Oxf. and Mont.*
- * *K. Hen.* Here at the palace will I rest a while.
- * Cousin of Exeter, what thinks your lordship ?
- * Methinks, the power, that Edward hath in field,
- * Should not be able to encounter mine.
- * *Exe.* Thedoubt is, that he will seduce the rest.
- * *K. Hen.* That's not my fear, my meed hath got me fame.⁸
- * I have not stopp'd mine ears to their demands,
- * Nor posted off their suits with slow delays ;
- * My pity hath been balm to heal their wounds,
- * My mildness hath allay'd their swelling griefs,
- * My mercy dry'd their water-flowing tears :

⁸ — *my meed hath got me fame.*] *Meed* signifies reward. We should read—*my deed*; i. e. my manners, conduct in the administration. WARBURTON.

This word signifies *merit*, both as a verb and a substantive : that it is used as a verb, is clear from the following foolish couplet which I remember to have read :

“ Deem if I *meed*,
“ Dear madam, *read*.”

A Specimen of Verses that read the same way backward and forward. SIR J. HAWKINS.

Meed here means *merit*, as it did in a former passage, [p. 49, n. 6.] when Edward says of himself and his brothers :

“ Each one already blazing by our *meeds*.” M. MASON.

* I have not been desirous of their wealth,
 * Nor much oppress'd them with great subsidies,
 * Nor forward of revenge, though they much err'd ;
 * Then why should they love Edward more than
 me ?

* No, Exeter, these graces challenge grace :
 * And, when the lion fawns upon the lamb,
 * The lamb will never cease to follow him.

[*Shout within. A Lancaster ! A Lancaster !*

EXE. Hark, hark, my lord ! what shouts are
 these ?

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, and Soldiers.

• *K. EDW.* Seize on the shame-fac'd Henry, bear
 him hence,
 • And once again proclaim us king of England.—
 * You are the fount, that makes small brooks to
 flow ;
 * Now stops thy spring ; my sea shall suck them
 dry,
 * And swell so much the higher by their ebb.—
 • Hence with him to the Tower ; let him not speak.
 [*Exeunt some with King HENRY.*
 • And, lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,
 • Where peremptory Warwick now remains :¹

• *Shout within. A Lancaster !*] Surely the shouts that ushered King Edward should be, *A York ! A York !* I suppose the author did not write the marginal directions, and the players confounded the characters. JOHNSON.

We may suppose the shouts to have come from some of Henry's guard, on the appearance of Edward. MALONE.

¹ *And, lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,*
Where peremptory Warwick now remains :] Warwick, as Mr. M. Mason has observed, [p. 166, n. 4.] has but just left the stage, declaring his intention to go to Coventry. How then

- ‘ The sun shines hot,² and, if we use delay,
‘ Cold biting winter mars our hop’d-for hay.
* *GLO.* Away betimes, before his forces join,
* And take the great-grown traitor unawares :
* Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry.

[*Exeunt.*

could Edward know of that intention? Our author was led into this impropriety by the old play, where also Edward says :

“ And now towards Coventry let’s bend our course,
“ To meet with Warwick and his confederates.”

Some of our old writers seem to have thought, that all the persons of the drama must know whatever was known to the writers themselves, or to the audience. MALONE.

* *The sun shines hot, &c.]* These lines are formed on two others which are found in the old play in a subsequent scene in the next Act, being spoken by Edward, after the battle of Barnet, and just before he sets out for Tewksbury.

“ — Come, let us go ;
“ For if we slack this fair bright summers day,
“ Sharp winters showers will mar our *hope*, for haie.”

I suspect, *haie* was inadvertently written in the manuscript instead of *aye*, and that Shakspeare was thus led to introduce an idea different from that intended to be conveyed by the original author. MALONE.

The old reading is undoubtedly the true one; the allusion being to a well-known proverb—“ Make *hay* while the sun shines.” See Ray’s Collection, edit. 1768, p. 117. STEEVENS.

ACT V. SCENE I.

Coventry.

Enter, upon the Walls, WARWICK, the Mayor of Coventry, Two Messengers, and Others.

WAR. Where is the post, that came from valiant Oxford?

How far hence is thy lord, mine honest fellow?

* 1 *MESS.* By this at Dunsmore,³ marching hitherward.

WAR. How far off is our brother Montague?—Where is the post that came from Montague?

* 2 *MESS.* By this at Daintry,⁴ with a puissant troop.

Enter Sir JOHN SOMERVILLE.

* *WAR.* Say, Somerville, what says my loving son?

* And, by the guess, how nigh is Clarence now?

* *SOM.* At Southam I did leave him with his forces,

* And do expect him here some two hours hence.
[*Drum heard.*

* *WAR.* Then Clarence is at hand, I hear his drum.

* *SOM.* It is not his, my lord; here Southam lies;

³ —— at Dunsmore,] The quartos read—at Daintry: i. e. Daventry. STEEVENS.

* —— at Daintry,] The quartos read—at Dunsmore.
STEEVENS.

- * The drum your honour hears, marcheth from Warwick.
- * *WAR.* Who should that be? belike, unlook'd-for friends.
- * *SOM.* They are at hand, and you shall quickly know.

Drums. Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, and Forces, marching.

- * *K. EDW.* Go, trumpet, to the walls, and sound a parle.
- * *GLO.* See, how the surly Warwick mans the wall.
- WAR.* O, unbid spite! is sportful Edward come? Where slept our scouts,⁵ or how are they seduc'd, That we could hear no news of his repair?
- * *K. EDW.* Now, Warwick, wilt thou ope the city gates,
- * Speak gentle words, and humbly bend thy knee?—
- * Call Edward—king, and at his hands beg mercy,
- * And he shall pardon thee these outrages.
- * *WAR.* Nay, rather, wilt thou draw thy forces hence,

Confess who set thee up and pluck'd thee down?—
Call Warwick—patron, and be penitent,
And thou shalt still remain the duke of York.

- GLO.* I thought, at least, he would have said—the king;
- Or did he make the jest against his will?
- * *WAR.* Is not a dukedom, sir, a goodly gift?
- * *GLO.* Ay, by my faith, for a poor earl to give;

* *Where slept our scouts?*] So, in *King John*:
 “O, where hath our intelligence been drunk?
 “Where hath it slept?” STEEVENS.

* I'll do thee service⁶ for so good a gift.

‘ *WAR.* ’Twas I, that gave the kingdom to thy brother.

K. EDW. Why, then ’tis mine, if but by Warwick’s gift.

‘ *WAR.* Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight :
And, weakling, Warwick takes his gift again ;
And Henry is my king, Warwick his subject.

* *K. EDW.* But Warwick’s king is Edward’s prisoner :

‘ And, gallant Warwick, do but answer this,—
What is the body, when the head is off?

‘ *GLO.* Alas, that Warwick had no more forecast,

But, whiles he thought to steal the single ten,

‘ The king was slily finger’d from the deck !⁷

⁶ *I'll do thee service—*] i. e. enroll myself among thy dependants. Cowell informs us, that *servitium* is “that service which the tenant, by reason of his fee, owe unto his lord.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *The king was slily finger'd from the deck !*] The quartos read—*finely* finger’d.

Finely is subtly. So, in Holinshed’s reign of *King Henry VI.* p. 640: “ In his way he tooke by *fine* force, a tower,” &c. Again, p. 649, “ — and by *fine* force either to win their purpose, or end their lives in the same.”

A pack of cards was anciently termed *a deck of cards*, or *a pair of cards*. It is still, as I am informed, so called in Ireland. Thus, in *King Edward I.* 1599: “ — as it were, turned us, with duces and trays, out of the *deck*.”

Again, in *The Two Maids of Moreclacke*, 1609:

“ I’ll deal the cards and cut you from the *deck*.”

Again, in *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks*, 1594:

“ Well, if I chance but once to get the *deck*,

“ To deal about and shuffle as I would.” STEEVENS.

An instance of a *pack* of cards being called a *deck*, occurs in the *sessions paper*, for January, 1788. So that the term appears to be still in use. RITSON.

You left poor Henry at the bishop's palace,⁸
And, ten to one, you'll meet him in the Tower.

* *K. EDW.* 'Tis even so; yet you are Warwick still.⁹

* *GLO.* Come, Warwick, take the time,¹ kneel down, kneel down:

* Nay, when?² strike now, or else the iron cools.

* *WAR.* I had rather chop this hand off at a blow,

* And with the other fling it at thy face,

* Than bear so low a sail, to strike to thee.

* *K. EDW.* Sail how thou canst, have wind and tide thy friend;

* This hand, fast wound about thy coal-black hair,

* Shall, whiles the head is warm, and new cut off,

* Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood,—

* *Wind-changing Warwick now can change no more.*

Enter OXFORD, with Drum and Colours.

* *WAR.* O cheerful colours! see, where Oxford comes!

OXF. Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster!

[*OXFORD and his Forces enter the City.*

* ——*the bishop's palace,*] The palace of the bishop of London. MALONE.

⁹ ——*yet you are Warwick still.*] Thus the folio. The old play reads—and yet you are *ould* Warwick still. MALONE.

¹ ——*take the time,*] So, in *Macbeth*:

“——but we'll *take to-morrow.*”

An expression which Mr. Malone would change for—“*talk to-morrow.*” See Vol. X. p. 145, n. 6. STEEVENS.

² *Nay, when?*] This exclamation, expressive of impatience, has already occurred in *King Richard II.* See Vol. XI. p. 12, n. 5. STEEVENS.

‘ *Glo.* The gates are open, let us enter too.³

‘ *K. EDW.* So other foes may set upon our backs.

* Stand we in good array ; for they, no doubt,

* Will issue out again, and bid us battle :

‘ If not, the city, being but of small defence,

‘ We’ll quickly rouse the traitors in the same.

WAR. O, welcome, Oxford ! for we want thy help.

Enter MONTAGUE, with Drum and Colours.

MONT. Montague, Montague, for Lancaster !

[*He and his Forces enter the City.*

‘ *GLO.* Thou and thy brother both shall buy this treason

‘ Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.

* *K. EDW.* The harder match’d, the greater victory ;

* My mind presageth happy gain, and conquest.

Enter SOMERSET, with Drum and Colours.

SOM. Somerset, Somerset, for Lancaster !

[*He and his Forces enter the City.*

GLO. Two of thy name, both dukes of Somerset, Have sold their lives unto the house of York ;⁴ And thou shalt be the third, if this sword hold.

[³ *The gates are open, let us enter too.*] Thus the folio. The quartos read :

“ The gates are open, see, they enter in ;

“ Let’s follow them, and bid them battle in the streets.

“ *Edw.* No : so some other might set upon our backs,

“ We’ll stay till all be enter’d, and then follow them.”

STEEVENS.

[⁴ Two of thy name, both dukes of Somerset, Have sold their lives unto the house of York ;] The first of

Enter CLARENCE, with Drum and Colours.

WAR. And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps along,

Of force enough to bid his brother battle;⁵

* With whom an upright zeal to right prevails,

* More than the nature of a brother's love:—

* Come, Clarence, come; thou wilt, if Warwick calls.

CLAR. Father of Warwick, know you what this means?

[*Taking the red Rose out of his Cap.*⁶

these noblemen was Edmund, slain at the battle of Saint Alban's, 1455. See Vol. XIII. p. 389. The second was Henry his son, beheaded after the battle of Hexham, 1463. The present duke Edmund, brother to Henry, was taken prisoner at Tewksbury, 1471, and there beheaded, (*infra, sc. v.*) his brother John losing his life in the same fight. RITSON.

⁵ — to bid his brother battle;] Here the quartos conclude this speech, and add the following:

“Clar. Clarence, Clarence, for Lancaster!

“Edw. *Et tu brute!* wilt thou stab Cæsar too?

“A parly, sirra, to George of Clarence.”

To bid battle is a phrase that often occurs in ancient writers. Thus, in the *Batrachomoumachia* of Homer, as translated by Chapman:

“O frogs! the mice send threats to you of arms,

“And bid me bid you battle.” STEEVENS.

This line of the old play, *Et tu Brute!* &c. is found also in *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, a poem by S. Nicholson, 1600; and the Latin words, though not retained here, were afterwards transplanted by Shakspeare into his *Julius Cæsar*, Act III.

MALONE.

⁶ *Taking the red Rose out of his Cap.*] This note of direction I restored from the old quarto. And without it, it is impossible that any reader can guess at the meaning of this line of Clarence:

Look, here, I throw my infamy at thee. THEOBALD.

‘ Look here, I throw my infamy at thee :
 I will not ruinate my father’s house,
 Who gave his blood to lime the stones⁷ together,
 ‘ And set up Lancaster. Why, trow’st thou, Warwick,
 ‘ That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,⁸
 ‘ To bend the fatal instruments of war
 ‘ Against his brother, and his lawful king?⁹
 * Perhaps, thou wilt object my holy oath :
 * To keep that oath, were more impiety
 * Than Jephtha’s,¹ when he sacrific’d his daughter.
 * I am so sorry for my trespass made,
 * That, to deserve well at my brother’s hands,
 * I here proclaim myself thy mortal foe ;
 * With resolution, wheresoe’er I meet thee,
 * (As I will meet thee, if thou stir abroad,) —
 * To plague thee for thy foul misleading me.
 And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,
 And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks.—
 ‘ Pardon me, Edward, I will make amends ;

⁷ —— *to lime the stones*] That is, to *cement* the stones.
 Lime makes mortar. JOHNSON.

⁸ That *Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,*] This line (too long by a foot) was, in my opinion, interpolated by the players, who appear the sworn enemies of an ellipsis.—Omit the words — *That* and *is*, and no want of them will be felt by such readers as are well acquainted with ancient language,—*Why, conceivest thou, Warwick, Clarence so harsh, &c. —?*

STEEVENS.

—— *so blunt,*] Stupid, insensible of paternal fondness.
 JOHNSON.

* *To bend the fatal instruments of war*
Against his brother, and his lawful king?] Thus the folio.
 The old play thus :
 “ To lift his sword against his brother’s life.”

MALONE.

‘ —— *Jephtha’s, &c.*] See the book of *Judges*, xi. 30.
 STEEVENS.

‘ And, Richard, do not frown upon my faults,
‘ For I will henceforth be no more unconstant.

‘ K. EDW. Now welcome more, and ten times
more belov’d,

Than if thou never hadst deserv’d our hate.

‘ GLO. Welcome, good Clarence; this is brother-like.

WAR. O passing traitor,² perjur’d, and unjust!

K. EDW. What, Warwick, wilt thou leave the town, and fight?

Or shall we beat the stones about thine ears?

‘ WAR. Alas, I am not coop’d here for defence: I will away towards Barnet presently, And bid thee battle, Edward, if thou dar’st.

K. EDW. Yes, Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the way:—

Lords, to the field; Saint George, and victory.

[March. Exeunt.

² — passing *traitor*,] Eminent, egregious; traitorous beyond the common track of treason. JOHNSON.

So, in *Othello*:

“ —’twas strange, ’twas *passing* strange.”

STEEVENS.

SCENE II.

A Field of Battle near Barnet.

Alarums, and Excursions. Enter King EDWARD, bringing in WARWICK wounded.

* K. EDW. So, lie thou there : die thou, and die our fear ;

* For Warwick was a bug, that fear'd us all.³ —

* Now, Montague, sit fast ; I seek for thee,

* That Warwick's bones may keep thine company.

[Exit.

WAR. Ah, who is nigh ? come to me, friend, or foe,

And tell me, who is victor, York, or Warwick ?

Why ask I that ? my mangled body shows,

* My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows,

That I must yield my body to the earth,

And, by my fall, the conquest to my foe.

Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,

* — a bug, that fear'd us all.] Bug is a bugbear, a terrific being. JOHNSON.

So, in *Cymbeline* :

“ — are become

“ The mortal bugs of the field.”

Again, in Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579 : “ These bugs are fitter to fear babes than to move men.” STEEVENS.

To fear in old language frequently signifies, to terrify.

MALONE.

So, in *The Merchant of Venice* :

“ I tell thee, lady, this aspect of mine

“ Hath fear'd the valiant.” STEEVENS.

Whose arms⁴ gave shelter to the princely eagle,
 Under whose shade the ramping lion slept ;⁵
 Whose top-branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree,
 * And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind.
 * These eyes, that now are dimm'd with death's
 black veil,
 * Have been as piercing as the mid-day sun,
 * To search the secret treasures of the world :
 The wrinkles in my brows, now fill'd with blood,
 Were liken'd oft to kingly sepulchres ;
 For who liv'd king, but I could dig his grave ?
 And who durst smile, when Warwick bent his brow ?
 Lo, now my glory smear'd in dust and blood !
 My parks,⁶ my walks, my manors that I had,
 Even now forsake me ; and, of all my lands,
 Is nothing left me, but my body's length !⁷

* *Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,*
Whose arms &c.] It were better to read—
Thus to the axe's edge the cedar yields,
Whose arms &c.

Otherwise,—*Whose arms* will refer to the *axe* instead of the *cedar*. STEEVENS.

* *Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,*
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,
Under whose shade the ramping lion slept ; &c.] It has been
 observed to me, that the 31st chapter of the prophet Ezekiel sug-
 gested these images to Shakspeare. “ All the fowls of heaven
 made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all
 the beasts of the field bring forth their young.” STEEVENS.

* *My parks, &c.]*
Cedes coemptis saltibus, et domo,
Villaque. Hor.

This mention of his *parks* and *manors* diminishes the pathetick
 effect of the foregoing lines. JOHNSON.

? ————— and, of all my lands,
 Is nothing left me, but my body's length !] .
 “ ————— Mors sola fatetur

“ Quantula sint hominum corpuscula.” Juv.

Camden mentions in his *Remains*, that Constantine, in order

Why, what is pomp,⁸ rule, reign, but earth and dust?

And, live we how we can, yet die we must.

Enter OXFORD and SOMERSET.

* *SOM.* Ah, Warwick, Warwick!⁹ wert thou as we are,

* We might recover all our loss again!

to dissuade a person from covetousness, drew out with his lance the length and breadth of a man's grave, adding, "this is all thou shalt have when thou art dead, if thou canst happily get so much." MALONE.

⁸ —— *what is pomp, &c.*] This and the following line make no part of this speech in the old play; but were transposed by Shakspeare from a subsequent speech, addressed by Warwick to Somerset. MALONE.

⁹ *Ah, Warwick, Warwick! &c.*] These two speeches stand thus in the quartos:

" *Oxf.* Ah, Warwick, Warwick! clear up thyself, and live;

" For yet there's hope enough to win the day.

" Our warlike queen with troops is come from France,

" And at Southampton landed hath her train;

" And, might'st thou live, then would we never fly.

" *War.* Why, then I would not fly, nor have I now;

" But Hercules himself must yield to odds:

" For many wounds receiv'd, and many more repaid,

" Hath robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,

" And spite of spites needs must I yield to death."

STEEVENS.

One of these lines, "But Hercules," &c. Shakspeare has transposed and inserted in the Messenger's account of the death of the Duke of York. See p. 51. Not being aware of this, I inadvertently marked that line as our author's, which I ought not to have done. The three following lines have already been spoken by Warwick in a former scene (see p. 72,) and therefore were here properly rejected by Shakspeare. MALONE.

‘ The queen from France hath brought a puissant power ;

‘ Even now we heard the news : Ah, could’st thou fly !

‘ *WAR.* Why, then I would not fly.—Ah, Montague,

* If thou be there, sweet brother, take my hand,

* And with thy lips keep in my soul a while !

* Thou lov’st me not ; for, brother, if thou didst,

* Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood,

* That glews my lips, and will not let me speak.

* Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead.

‘ *SOM.* Ah, Warwick, Montague hath breath’d his last ;

‘ And to the latest gasp, cried out for Warwick,

‘ And said—Commend me to my valiant brother.

‘ And more he would have said ; and more he spoke,

‘ Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,¹

¹ *Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,*] The old quarto reads *clamour*, which is undoubtedly right, i. e. a clamour of tongues, which, as he says, could not be distinguished. This was a pertinent similitude : the other absurd, and neither agrees with what is predicated of it, nor with what it is intended to illustrate. WARBURTON.

Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,

That might not be distinguish’d ;] That is, like the noise of a cannon in a vault, *which*, &c. Shakespeare’s alteration here is perhaps not so judicious as many others that he has made. In the old-play, instead of *cannon*, we have *clamour*, and the speech stands thus :

“ Thy brother Montague hath breath’d his last,

“ And at the pangs of death I heard him cry,

“ And say, commend me to my valiant brother ;

“ And more he would have said, and more he said,

“ Which sounded like a *clamour* in a vault,

“ That could not be distinguish’d for the sound ;

“ And so the valiant Montague gave up the ghost.”

MALONE.

The indistinct gabble of undertakers, while they adjust a cof-

‘ That might not be distinguish’d ; but, at last,
 ‘ I well might hear deliver’d with a groan,—
 ‘ O, farewell, Warwick !

WAR.

Sweet rest to his soul !—

Fly, lords, and save yourselves ; for Warwick bids
 You all farewell, to meet again in heaven.² [Dies.

OXF. Away, away,³ to meet the queen’s great
 power !

[*Exeunt, bearing off WARWICK’s Body.*

fin in a family *vault*, will abundantly illustrate the preceding simile. Such a peculiar hubbub of inarticulate sounds, might have attracted our author’s notice : it has too often forced itself on mine. STEEVENS.

² —— *to meet again in heaven.*] I have supplied the word—*again*, for the sake of metre, by the advice of Mr. Ritson, and with countenance from the following line in *King Richard III* :

“ Farewell, until we meet *again* in heaven.”

STEEVENS.

³ *Away, away, &c.*] Instead of this line, the quartos have the following :

“ Come, noble Somerset, let’s take our horse,
 “ And cause retreat be sounded through the camp ;
 “ That all our friends remaining yet alive
 “ May be forewarn’d, and save themselves by flight.
 “ That done, with them we’ll post unto the queen,
 “ And once more try our fortune in the field.”

STEEVENS.

It is unnecessary to repeat here an observation that has already been more than once made. I shall therefore only refer to former notes. See p. 16, n. 2. MALONE.

SCENE III.

Another Part of the Field.

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD in triumph; with CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and the rest.

- K. EDW. Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
- And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory.⁴
- But, in the midst of this bright-shining day,
- I spy a black, suspicious, threat'ning cloud,
- That will encounter with our glorious sun,
- Ere he attain his easeful western bed :
- I mean, my lords,—those powers,⁵ that the queen

⁴ *Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory.]* Thus the folio.
The quartos thus :

- “ Thus still our fortune gives us victory,
- “ And girts our temples with triumphant joys.
- “ The big-bon'd traitor Warwick hath breath'd his last,
- “ And heaven this day hath smil'd upon us all.”

STEEVENS.

It is observable, that the expression which Shakspeare had substituted for “temples engirt with triumphant joys,” occurs again in *King Richard III*:

“ Now are our brows bound with *victorious wreaths*,—.”

Again, in his *Rape of Lucrece*:

- “ Made glorious by his manly chivalry,
- “ With bruised arms, and *wreaths of victory*,”

MALONE.

⁵ *I mean, my lords,—those powers, &c.]* Thus the folio.
The old play thus :

- “ I meane those powers which the queen hath got in France,
- “ Are landed, and meane once more to menace us.”

MALONE.

‘ Hath rais’d in Gallia, have arriv’d our coast,⁶
 ‘ And, as we hear, march on to fight with us.

* *CLAR.* A little gale will soon disperse that cloud,
 * And blow it to the source from whence it came :
 * Thy very beams will dry those vapours up ;
 * For every cloud engenders not a storm.

* *GLO.* The queen is valu’d thirty thousand
 strong,
 ‘ And Somerset, with Oxford, fled to her ;
 ‘ If she have time to breathe, be well assur’d,
 Her faction will be full as strong as ours.

K. EDW. We are advértis’d by our loving friends,
 That they do hold their course toward Tewksbury ;
 ‘ We having now the best at Barnet field,
 ‘ Will thither straight, For willingness rids way ;
 ‘ And, as we march, our strength will be augmented
 In every county as we go along.—
 Strike up the drum ; cry—Courage ! and away.⁷

[*Exeunt.*

* —— have arriv’d our coast,] So, in *Coriolanus* :
 “ —— and now arriving
 “ A place of potency,—.”

Again, in *Julius Cæsar* :

“ But ere we could arrive the point propos’d,—.”

Milton uses the same structure, *Paradise Lost*, B. II :
 “ —— ere he arrive
 “ The happy isle.” STEEVENS.

* *Strike up the drum ; cry—Courage ! and away.]* Thus the folio. The quartos have the following couplet :

“ Come, let’s go ;

“ For if we slack this faire bright summer’s day,

“ Sharp winter’s showers will mar our hope for haie.”

Something like this has occurred in p. 171. STEEVENS.

SCENE IV.

Plains near Tewksbury.

March. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD, SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers.

- * Q. MAR. Great lords,⁸ wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,
- * But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
- What though the mast be now blown over-board,
- The cable broke, the holding anchor lost,
- And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood?
- Yet lives our pilot still: Is't meet, that he
- Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,
- * With tearful eyes add water to the sea,

* *Great lords, &c.]* This speech in the old play stands thus:

“Queen. Welcome to England, my loving friends of France,

“And welcome, Somerset and Oxford too.
 “Once more have we spread our sails abroad;
 “And though our tackling be almost consumde,
 “And Warwick as our maine-mast overthowne,
 “Yet, warlike lordes, raise you that sturdie post
 “That bears the sailes to bring us unto rest.
 “And Ned and I, as willing pilots should,
 “For once, with careful mindes, guide on the sterne,
 “To beare us through that dangerous gulfe,
 “That heretofore hath swallowed up our friends.”

There is perhaps no speech that proves more decisively than the above, that *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of the Duke of Yorke, &c.* printed in 1600, were the production of some writer who preceded Shakspeare; and that what are now called *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* were only a *revisal and amplification* of those pieces.

Here we have a thought which in the original play is expressed in eleven lines, expanded by our author into thirty-seven lines.

MALONE.

- * And give more strength to that which hath too much ;⁹
- * Whiles, in his moan, the ship splits on the rock,
- * Which industry and courage might have sav'd ?
- * Ah, what a shame ! ah, what a fault were this !
- ‘ Say, Warwick was our anchor ; What of that ?
- ‘ And Montague our top-mast ; What of him ?
- ‘ Our slaughter'd friends the tackles ; What of these ?
- ‘ Why, is not Oxford here another anchor ?
- ‘ And Somerset another goodly mast ?
- ‘ The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings ?
- ‘ And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I
- ‘ For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge ?
- ‘ We will not from the helm, to sit and weep ;
- * But keep our course, though the rough wind
say—no,
- * From shelves and rocks that threaten us with
wreck.
- * As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair.
- * And what is Edward, but a ruthless sea ?

⁹ *With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
And give more strength to that which hath too much ;]* See
note on *As you like it*, Vol. VIII. p. 44, n. 1. REED.

So, in our author's *Lover's Complaint* :

“ Upon whose weeping margent she was set,
“ Like usury, applying wet to wet.”

Again, in *As you like it* :

“ — Thou mak'st a testament
“ As worldings do, giving the sum of more
“ To that which hath too much.”

Again, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ With tears augmenting the fresh morning dew.”

So also, Spenser, in his *Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579:

“ Thou, plenteous spring, hast lull'd me oft asleep,
“ Whose streames my trickling tears did oft augment.”

Of this thought, which we see Shakspeare has so often expressed, there is no trace in the old play. See note 8.

- * What Clarence, but a quicksand of deceit?
- * And Richard, but a ragged fatal rock?
- * All these the enemies to our poor bark.
- * Say, you can swim; alas, 'tis but a while:
- * Tread on the sand; why, there you quickly sink:
- * Bestride the rock; the tide will wash you off,
- * Or else you famish, that's a threefold death.
- * This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
- * In case some one of you would fly from us,
- * That there's no hop'd-for mercy with the brothers,
- * More than with ruthless waves, with sands, and rocks.
- * Why, courage, then! what cannot be avoided,
- * 'Twere childish weakness to lament, or fear.
- * PRINCE. Methinks, a woman¹ of this valiant spirit
- * Should, if a coward heard her speak these words,
- * Infuse his breast with magnanimity,
- * And make him, naked, foil a man at arms.
- * I speak not this, as doubting any here:
- * For, did I but suspect a fearful man,
- * He should have leave to go away betimes;

¹ *Methinks, a woman &c.]* In this speech there is much and important variation in the quarto:

“ Prince. And if there be (as God forbid there should)
 “ 'Mongst us a timorous or fearful man,
 “ Let him depart before the battles join;
 “ Lest he in time of need entice another,
 “ And so withdraw the soldiers' hearts from us.
 “ I will not stand aloof, and bid you fight,
 “ But with my sword press in the thickest throngs,
 “ And single Edward from his strongest guard,
 “ And hand to hand enforce him for to yield,
 “ Or leave my body, as witness of my thoughts.”

STEEVENS.

Our author has availed himself of these lines in former scenes of these plays. MALONE.

‘ Lest, in our need, he might infect another,
 ‘ And make him of like spirit to himself.
 ‘ If any such be here, as God forbid !
 ‘ Let him depart, before we need his help.

‘ *Oxf.* Women and children of so high a courage !

And warriors faint ! why, 'twere perpetual shame.—
 ‘ O, brave young prince ! thy famous grandfather
 Doth live again in thee ; Long may'st thou live,
 To bear his image, and renew his glories !

‘ *Som.* And he, that will not fight for such a hope,
 ‘ Go home to bed, and, like the owl by day,
 ‘ If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.²

* *Q. Mar.* Thanks, gentle Somerset ;—sweet Oxford, thanks.

* *Prince.* And take his thanks, that yet hath nothing else.

Enter a Messenger.

‘ *mess.* Prepare you, lords,³ for Edward is at hand,
 ‘ Ready to fight ; therefore be resolute.

‘ *Oxf.* I thought no less : it is his policy,
 ‘ To haste thus fast, to find us unprovided.

Som. But he's deceiv'd, we are in readiness.

* *If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.]* So the folio. The old play thus :

“ Be hiss'd and wonder'd at, if he arise.” *MALONE.*

* *Prepare you, lords, &c.]* In the old play these speeches stand thus :

“ Mes. My lordes, duke Edward with a mightie power
 “ Is marching hitherward to fight with you.

“ *Oxf.* I thought it was his policy to take us unprovided,
 “ But here will we stand, and fight it to the death.”

MALONE.

Q. MAR. This cheers my heart, to see your forwardness.

OXF. Here pitch our battle, hence we will not budge.

March. Enter, at a distance, King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and Forces.

- *K. EDW.* Brave followers,⁴ yonder stands the thorny wood,
- Which, by the heavens' assistance, and your strength,
- Must by the roots be hewn up yet ere night.
- * I need not add more fuel to your fire,
- * For, well I wot, ye blaze to burn them out :
- * Give signal to the fight, and to it, lords.

- Q. MAR.* Lords, knights, and gentlemen, what I should say,
- My tears gainsay ;⁵ for every word I speak,
- Ye see, I drink the water of mine eyes.⁶

⁴ *K. Edw. Brave followers, &c.]* This scene is ill-contrived, in which the King and Queen appear at once on the stage at the head of opposite armies. It had been easy to make one retire before the other entered. JOHNSON.

⁵ *My tears gainsay ;]* To gainsay is to unsay, to deny, to contradict. So, in *A Knack to know a Knave*, 1594 :

“ _____ seeing my father grants,
“ I will not gainsay.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *Ye see, I drink the water of mine eyes.]* This phrase is scriptural: “ Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them tears to drink.” *Psalm lxxxv. 5.* STEEVENS.

So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis* :

“ Dost thou drink tears, that thou provok'st such weeping ?”

These passages were probably recollected by Rowe, when he wrote in his *Jane Shore* :

“ Feed on my sighs, and drink my falling tears.”

So also, Pope, in the *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard* :

“ And drink the falling tears each other sheds.”

‘ Therefore, no more but this :—Henry, your sovereign,⁷
 ‘ Is prisoner to the foe ; his state usurp’d,
 ‘ His realm a slaughter house, his subjects slain,
 ‘ His statutes cancell’d, and his treasure spent ;
 ‘ And yonder is the wolf, that makes this spoil.
 ‘ You fight in justice : then, in God’s name, lords,
 ‘ Be valiant, and give signal to the fight.

[*Exeunt both Armies.*

SCENE V.

Another Part of the same.

Alarums : Excursions : and afterwards a Retreat.
Then Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and Forces ; with Queen MARGARET, OXFORD, and SOMERSET, Prisoners.

‘ *K. EDW.* Now, here a period of tumultuous
 broils.
 Away with Oxford to Hammes’ castle⁸ straight :

The folio has—*eye* : but I imagine it was rather an error in the transcriber than an alteration by Shakspeare. The old play reads—*eyes*. MALONE.

⁷ — *Henry, your sovereign, &c.]* Instead of this and the following lines, the original play has these :

“ Henry your king is prisoner in the Tower ;
 “ His land and all our friends are quite distrest,
 “ And yonder stands the wolfe that makes all this,
 “ Then in God’s name, lords, together crie saint George.”

MALONE.

⁸ — *to Hammes’ castle—]* A castle in Picardy, where Oxford was confined for many years. MALONE.

For Somerset,⁹ off with his guilty head.

‘ Go, bear them hence ; I will not hear them speak.

Oxf. For my part, I’ll not trouble thee with words.

‘ *Som.* Nor I, but stoop with patience to my fortune.

[*Exeunt OXFORD and SOMERSET, guarded.*

* *Q. Mar.* So part we sadly in this troublous world,

* To meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem.

* *K. Edw.* Is proclamation made,—that, who finds Edward,

* Shall have a high reward, and he his life ?

* *Glo.* It is : and, lo, where youthful Edward comes.

Enter Soldiers, with Prince EDWARD.

* *K. Edw.* Bring forth the gallant, let us hear him speak :

* What ! can so young a thorn begin to prick ?¹

‘ Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make,

‘ For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects,

* And all the trouble thou hast turn’d me to ?²

⁹ For Somerset,] Edmond Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the second son of Edmond Duke of Somerset who was killed at the battle of Saint Albans. MALONE.

¹ What ! can so young a thorn begin to prick ?] This is a proverbial observation, which I find versified in “ A Prety Interlude, called *Nice Wanton*”—

“ Early sharpe that wyll be thorne,

“ Soone yll that wyll be naught,” &c. STEEVENS.

² And all the trouble thou hast turn’d me to ?] This line was one of Shakspeare’s additions to the original play. We have almost the same words in *The Tempest* :

PRINCE. Speak like a subject, proud ambitious York!

Suppose, that I am now my father's mouth;
Resign thy chair, and, where I stand, kneel thou,
Whilst I propose the self-same words to thee,
Which, traitor, thou wouldest have me answer to.

Q. MAR. Ah, that thy father had been so resolv'd!

' *GLO.* That you might still have worn the petticoat,

And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster.

PRINCE. Let *Æsop*³ fable in a winter's night;
His currish riddles sort not with this place.

GLO. By heaven, brat, I'll plague you for that word.

Q. MAR. Ay, thou wast born to be a plague to men.

GLO. For God's sake, take away this captive scold.

PRINCE. Nay, take away this scolding crook-back rather.

' *K. EDW.* Peace, wilful boy, or I will charm your tongue.⁴

" ————— O, my heart bleeds,

" To think of the teen [i. e. trouble] that I have turn'd you to."

In the old play Prince Edward is not brought forth as here, but enters with his mother; and after Oxford and Somerset are carried off, he is thus addressed by the King:

" Now, Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make,

" For stirring up my subjects to rebellion?" MALONE.

³ *Let Æsop &c.]* The Prince calls Richard, for his crookedness, *Æsop*; and the poet, following nature, makes Richard highly incensed at the reproach. JOHNSON.

⁴ ————— charm your tongue.] The quarto reads—*tame* your tongue.

CLAR. Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert.

PRINCE. I know my duty, you are all undutiful :
Lascivious Edward,—and thou perjur'd George,—
And thou misshapen Dick,—I tell ye all,
I am your better, traitors as ye are ;—
* And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.

K. EDW. Take that, the likeness of this railer
here.⁵ [Stabs him.

The former is best. So, in Sir A. Gorges' translation of Lu-
can, 1614 :

“ In hope that thy victorious arme

“ Their dunghill crowing so will charme.” STEEVENS.

This is the right reading. So, in *Cynthia's Revels*, Mercury
says to Cupid :

“ How now, my dancing braggart ! charm your tongue.”

And, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Lucentio says :

“ But I will charm him first to keep his tongue.”

M. MASON.

The expression which our author substituted, is one that he
has often used. See Vol. XIII. p. 314, n. 1. The meaning is,
I will compel you to be as silent, as you would be, if you were
charm'd, if you were deprived of speech by the power of in-
chantment. MALONE.

⁵ — the likeness of this railer here. &c.] Thou that resem-
blest thy railing mother. JOHNSON.

That is, *thou who art* the likeness, &c. Mr. Rowe and the
other modern editors read—*thou* likeness, and so we should now
write ; but the other was the phraseology of Shakspeare's time.
So, in *Julius Cæsar* :

“ The last of all the Romans, fare thee well.”

In that passage, as in the present, Mr. Rowe substituted *thou*
for *the*, though Shakspeare has employed the very words he
found in North's translation of Plutarch. MALONE.

The old copies describe *Edward* as striking the first blow, and
Gloster the next ; and, I believe, rightly, for history informs us
that *Edward* smote the Prince with his gauntlet, on which the
rest despatch'd him. The words *sprawl'st thou ?* seem evidently
to belong to *Richard* ; and I have therefore continued them to
him on the authority of ancient editions, in preference to the
allotment of modern innovation. See edit. 1765, Vol. V. p. 217.

STEEVENS.

* *Glo.* Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy agony. [GLO. stabs him.]

* *Clar.* And there's for twitting me with perjury. [CLAR. stabs him.]

Q. Mar. O, kill me too!

Glo. Marry, and shall. [Offers to kill her.]

* *K. Edw.* Hold, Richard, hold, for we have done too much.

Glo. Why should she live, to fill the world with words?⁶

* *K. Edw.* What! doth she swoon? use means for her recovery.

Glo. Clarence, excuse me to the king my brother; I'll hence to London on a serious matter: Ere ye come there, be sure to hear some news.

Clar. What? what?

* *Glo.* The Tower, the Tower! [Exit.]

* *Q. Mar.* O, Ned, sweet Ned! speak to thy mother, boy!

* Canst thou not speak!—O traitors! murderers!—They, that stabb'd Cæsar, shed no blood at all, Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,

* If this foul deed were by, to equal it.

* He was a man; this, in respect, a child; And men ne'er spend their fury on a child.

* What's worse than murderer, that I may name it?

⁶ — with words?] i. e. dispute, contention. So, in a former of these plays:

“ Some words there grew 'twixt Somerset and me.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *The Tower, the Tower!*] The quarto adds—I'll root them out; but, perhaps, injudiciously: and yet, without these words the metre is imperfect. STEEVENS.

* No, no ; my heart will burst, an if I speak :—
 * And I will speak, that so my heart may burst.—
 * Butchers and villains, bloody cannibals !
 * How sweet a plant have you untimely cropp'd !
 ' You have no children, butchers !⁸ if you had,
 ' The thought of them would have stirr'd up re-
 morse :
 ' But, if you ever chance to have a child,
 Look in his youth to have him so cut off,
 ' As, deathsmen ! you have rid this sweet young
 prince !⁹

* *You have no children, butchers !*] The same sentiment is repeated by Macduff, in the tragedy of *Macbeth*; and this passage may serve as a comment on that. BLACKSTONE.

The original play reads :

“ You have no children, devils ; if you had,

“ The thought of them would then have stopt your rage.”

This thought occurring also (as Sir William Blackstone has observed,) in *Macbeth*, [See Vol. X. p. 249, n. 7.] may perhaps be urged as a proof of Shakspeare's being the author of the first draught, as well as of the alterations and additions to it. But how many thoughts and even expressions has he borrowed from preceding writers ? Having (as I suppose) greatly enlarged, and almost new-written, this and the preceding play, the thoughts they contain, whether found in the first copy, or his amplification of it, were as likely to recur in a future piece, as any of those which he has employed in one originally written by himself. In his original plays he frequently borrowed from himself.

MALONE.

⁹ — *you have rid this sweet young prince !*] The condition of this warlike Queen would move compassion, could it be forgotten that she gave York, to wipe his eyes in his captivity, a handkerchief stained with his young child's blood. JOHNSON.

But surely it does move our compassion, though that be not forgotten. When we see any of our fellow-creatures involved in deep distress, from a just and tender cause, we attend only to their present sufferings, and not to their former crimes.

M. MASON.

K. EDW. Away with her ; go, bear her hence
perforce.

Q. MAR. Nay, never bear me hence, despatch
me here ;

Here sheath thy sword, I'll pardon thee my death :
What ! wilt thou not ?—then, Clarence, do it thou.

CLAR. By heaven, I will not do thee so much
ease.

Q. MAR. Good Clarence, do ; sweet Clarence,
do thou do it.¹

CLAR. Didst thou not hear me swear, I would
not do it ?

Q. MAR. Ay, but thou usest to forswear thyself ;
'Twas sin before,² but now 'tis charity.

‘ What ! Wilt thou not ? where is that devil's
butcher,

Hard-favour'd Richard ?³ Richard, where art thou ?
Thou art not here : Murder is thy alms-deed ;
Petitioners for blood thou ne'er put'st back.

¹ —— *do thou do it.*] The old play reads—*kill me too.*

MALONE.

² ‘ *Twas sin before,*] She alludes to the desertion of Clarence.
JOHNSON.

³ —— *where is that devil's butcher,*

Hard-favour'd Richard ?] Thus all the editions. But *devil's
butcher*, in other terms, I think, is *kill-devil* : rare news for the
free-thinkers, if there were any grounds for depending on it.
But the poet certainly wrote—*devil-butcher* ; and the first part of
the compound is to be taken adjectively, meaning execrable, in-
fernial, devilish. THEOBALD.

Devil's butcher, is a butcher set on by the devil. Either
reading may serve without so long a note. JOHNSON.

The folio adds, at the end of this line, the word—*Richard*.
But both the metre and the old play show that it was an acci-
dental repetition by the transcriber, or compositor. MALONE.

‘ K. EDW. Away, I say ; I charge ye, bear her hence.

Q. MAR. So come to you, and yours, as to this prince ! [Exit, led out forcibly.]

K. EDW. Where’s Richard gone ?

‘ CLAR. To London, all in post ; and, as I guess, To make a bloody supper in the Tower.

K. EDW. He’s sudden, if a thing comes in his head.

‘ Now march we hence ; discharge the common sort

‘ With pay and thanks, and let’s away to London,

‘ And see our gentle queen how well she fares ;

‘ By this, I hope, she hath a son for me.

[Exeunt.]

SCENE VI.

London. *A Room in the Tower.*

King HENRY is discovered sitting with a Book in his Hand, the Lieutenant attending. Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Good day, my lord ! What, at your book so hard ?

K. HEN. Ay, my good lord : My lord, I should say rather ;

‘ Tis sin to flatter, good was little better :

Good Gloster, and good devil, were alike,

* And both preposterous ; therefore, not good lord.

* GLO. Sirrah, leave us to ourselves : we must confer. [Exit Lieutenant.]

* *K. Hen.* So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf:

* So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,

* And next his throat unto the butcher's knife.—

What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?⁴

[*What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?*] Roscius was certainly put for Richard by some simple conceited player who had heard of Roscius and of Rome; but did not know that he was an actor in comedy, not in tragedy. WARBURTON.

Shakspeare had occasion to compare Richard to some player about to represent a scene of murder, and took the first or only name of antiquity that occurred to him, without being very scrupulous about its propriety.

I know not, however, that it is proved, on classical authority, that *Roscius*, though generally a comedian, was no occasional actor in tragedy. Nash, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1592, says: "Not *Roscius* nor *Æsop*, those admired tragedians, that have lived ever since before Christ was born, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen."

Again, in *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, 1600:

"Through thee each murthering *Roscius* is appointed

"To act strange scenes of death on God's anointed."

Again, in *Certaine Satyres*, 1598:

"Was penn'd by *Roscio* the tragedian." STEEVENS.

[*What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?*] So, in *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, a poem, 1600:

"What bloody scene hath cruelty to act?"

Dr. Warburton reads *Richard* instead of *Roscius*, because Roscius was a comedian. That he is right in this assertion, is proved beyond a doubt by a passage in Quintilian, cited by W. R. [probably Sir Walter Rawlinson] in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LIV. P. II. p. 886: "Roscius citior, *Æsopus* gravior fuit, quod ille comedias, hic tragœdias egit." QUINTIL. Lib. XI. c. iii.—But it is not in Quintilian or in any other ancient writer we are to look in order to ascertain the text of Shakspeare. Roscius was called a *tragedian* by our author's contemporaries, as appears from the quotations in the preceding note; and this was sufficient authority to him, or rather to the author of the original play, for there this line is found. MALONE.

GLO. Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind ;
The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

‘ *K. HEN.* The bird, that hath been limed in a
bush,

‘ With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush :⁵
And I, the hapless male⁶ to one sweet bird,
Have now the fatal object in my eye,
Where my poor young was lim’d, was caught, and
kill’d.

‘ *GLO.* Why, what a peevish fool⁷ was that of
Crete,

‘ That taught his son the office of a fowl ?

‘ And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown’d.⁸

“ —— misdoubteth *every bush* :] To *misdoubt* is to suspect danger, to fear. So, in *Humour out of Breath*, a comedy by John Day, 1608 :

“ *Hip.* Doubt and *misdoubt* ! what difference is there here ?

“ *Oct.* Yes, much : when men *misdoubt*, 'tis said they *fear*.”

STEEVENS.

“ —— *hapless male* —] The word *male* is here used in a very uncommon sense, not for the male of the female, but for the male parent : the sweet bird is evidently his son Prince Edward.

M. MASON.

“ —— *peevish fool* —] As *peevishness* is the quality of children, *peevish* seems to signify *childish*, and by consequence *silly*. *Peevish* is explained by *childish*, in a former note of Dr. Warburton. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare employs the word *peevish* in the same sense in *Cymbeline*, where the reader will find many instances of this use of it. STEEVENS.

This epithet which Shakspeare has so frequently employed, was one of his additions to the original play.

The ordinary signification of *peevish* in our poet’s time was *foolish*. See Minsheu’s *Dict.* 1617, in v. MALONE.

“ —— *the office of a fowl* ?

And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown’d.] The old play reads :

“ —— the office of a *bird* ?

“ And yet for all that the poor fowl was drown’d.”

MALONE.

‘ *K. Hen.* I, Dædalus ; my poor boy, Icarus ;
 Thy father, Minos, that denied our course ;
 ‘ The sun, that sear’d the wings of my sweet boy,
 ‘ Thy brother Edward ; and thyself, the sea,
 ‘ Whose envious gulf did swallow up his life.
 * Ah, kill me with thy weapon, not with words !
 ‘ My breast can better brook thy dagger’s point,
 Than can my ears that tragick history.—
 * But wherefore dost thou come ? is’t for my life ?

‘ *Glo.* Think’st thou, I am an executioner ?

K. Hen. A persecutor, I am sure, thou art ;
 ‘ If murdering innocents be executing,
 ‘ Why, then thou art an executioner.

Glo. Thy son I kill’d for his presumption.

K. Hen. Hadst thou been kill’d, when first thou
 didst presume,

Thou hadst not liv’d to kill a son of mine.

‘ And thus I prophecy,—that many a thousand,
 ‘ Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear ;⁹
 ‘ And many an old man’s sigh, and many a widow’s,
 ‘ And many an orphan’s water-standing eye,—
 ‘ Men for their sons, wives for their husbands’ fate,¹
 ‘ And orphans for their parents’ timeless death,²—
 ‘ Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.
 The owl shriek’d at thy birth, an evil sign ;
 ‘ The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time ;

⁹ *Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear ;*] Who suspect no part of what my fears presage. JOHNSON.

¹ *Men for their sons, wives for their husbands’ fate,*] The word—*fate* was supplied by the editor of the second folio.

MALONE.

² *And orphans &c.]* The word—and, which is necessary to the metre, and is wanting in the first folio, was supplied by the second. STEEVENS.

Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempests shook down
trees;
The raven rook'd her³ on the chimney's top,
And chattering pies in dismal discords sung.
Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain,
And yet brought forth less than a mother's hope;
‘ To wit,—an indigest⁴ deformed lump,
Not like the fruit of such a goodly tree.
Teeth hadst thou in thy head, when thou wast
born,

³ *The raven rook'd her—*] To *rook*, or rather to *ruck*, is a north-country word, signifying to *squat down*, or *lodge* on any thing.

So, in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, Mr. Tyrwhitt's edit. v. 1310:
“ What is mankind more unto you yhold,
“ Than is the shepe, that *rouketh* in the fold?”

Again, in the *Nonnes Preestes Tale*, ibid. v. 15,232:
“ O false morderour, *rucking* in thy den.”

Again, in the Preface to Stanyhurst's translation of Virgil, 1582:

“ I cannot devine upon such booke that happlye *rouke* in studentes mewes,” &c.

Again, in the translation of the IVth Book:

“ Also on the turrets the skrich howle, &c.
“ _____ doth *ruck*,” &c.

Again, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. ch. xxxvii:
“ Have lazy wings, be ever lean, in sullen corners *ruck*.”

Again, in Golding's translation of the 6th Book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*:

“ The furies made the bridegrome's bed, and on the house
did *rucke*

“ A cursed owle the messenger of ill successe and lucke.”

Again, in the 15th Book:

“ He *rucketh* downe upon the same, and in the spices
dies.” STEEVENS.

⁴ _____ *an indigest*—] The folio has—*indigested*. But the metre and the old play show that it was a misprint. Shakspeare uses the word *indigest* in *King John*. MALONE.

“ _____ *rudis indigestaque moles*.” Ovid. Met. I. 7.

Douce.

To signify,—thou cam'st to bite the world :
And, if the rest be true which I have heard,
‘ Thou cam'st⁵—

Glo. I'll hear no more ;—Die, prophet, in thy speech ; [Stabs him.]
For this, amongst the rest, was I ordain'd.

K. Hen. Ay, and for much more slaughter after this.

O God! forgive my sins, and pardon thee ! [Dies.]

Glo. What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster Sink in the ground ? I thought it would have mounted.

See, how my sword weeps for the poor king's death !

‘ O, may such purple tears be always shed

‘ From those that wish the downfal of our house !—

‘ If any spark of life be yet remaining,⁶

⁵ *And, if the rest be true which I have heard,*

Thou cam'st—] Had our editors had but a grain of sagacity, or true diligence, there could have been no room for this absurd break, since they might have ventured to fill it up with certainty too. The old quarto would have led them part of the way :

Thou cam'st into the world—

And that the verse is to be completed in the manner I have given it, is incontestible ; for unless we suppose King Henry actually reproaches him with this his preposterous birth, how can Richard in his very next soliloquy say :

“ Indeed, 'tis true, that Henry told me of ;

“ For I have often heard my mother say,

“ I came into the world with my legs forward.”

I can easily see, that this blank was caused by the nicety of the players, to suppress an indecent idea. But, with submission, this was making but half a cure, unless they had expunged the repetition of it out of Richard's speech too. THEOBALD.

Thou cam'st—] Thus the folio. The old play as follows:

“ Thou cam'st *into the world*—

“ *Glo.* Die prophet in thy speech ;—I'll hear no more.”

MALONE.

“ *If any spark of life be yet remaining,*] So, in the 6th Book

Down, down to hell; and say—I sent thee thither,
[Stabs him again.]

I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.—
 Indeed, 'tis true, that Henry told me of;⁷
 For I have often heard my mother say,
 I came into the world with my legs forward:
 Had I not reason, think ye, to make haste,
 ‘ And seek their ruin that usurp’d our right?
 The midwife wonder’d; and the women cried,
O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!
 ‘ And so I was; which plainly signified—
 That I should snarl, and bite, and play the dog.
 ‘ Then, since the heavens have shap’d my body so,
 Let hell⁸ make crook’d my mind to answer it.

of Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, translated by Arthur Golding, 1587:

“ If any sparke of nature do within thy hart remaine.”
STEEVENS.

⁷ — *that Henry told me of;*] Namely, that my birth was attended with singular circumstances.—Theobald, grounding himself on this and the two following lines, reads in a former passage—

“ Thou cam’st *into the world with thy legs forward.*” for “ how,” (says he,) can Richard say, “ Indeed ’tis true that Henry told me of,” &c. “ unless we suppose King Henry reproached him with his preposterous birth?” But surely Henry has done so in the last ten lines of his speech, though he is at length prevented by the fatal stab from mentioning a further proof of Richard’s being born for the destruction of mankind. Theobald’s addition therefore to that line, has, I think, been adopted too hastily by the subsequent editors, and the interruption in the midst of Henry’s speech appears to me not only preferable, as warranted by the old copies, and by Gloster’s subsequent words, [Die, prophet, *in thy speech;*] but more agreeable to nature.

MALONE.

⁸ *Let hell &c.*] This line Dryden seems to have thought on in his *Oedipus*:

“ It was thy crooked mind hunch’d out thy back,
 “ And wander’d in thy limbs.”
STEEVENS.

I have no brother, I am like no brother :

‘ And this word—love, which greybeards call divine,

Be resident in men like one another,
And not in me ; I am myself alone.—

Clarence, beware ; thou keep’st me from the light ;
But I will sort a pitchy day for thee :⁹

For I will buzz abroad such prophecies,

‘ That Edward shall be fearful of his life ;¹

And then, to purge his fear, I’ll be thy death.

‘ King Henry, and the prince his son, are gone :

‘ Clarence, thy turn is next, and then the rest ;
Counting myself but bad, till I be best.—

‘ I’ll throw thy body in another room,

And triumph, Henry, in thy day of doom. [Exit.

After this line, we find in the old play the following:

“ I had no father, I am like no father.”

It might have been omitted in the folio merely by accident, (as some lines in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* certainly were,) but its restoration is not necessary, for the sense is complete without it. MALONE.

⁹ But I will sort a pitchy day for thee :] But I will choose out an hour whose gloom shall be as fatal to you. To sort is to select. So, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1605 :

“ — for they had sorted leisure.”

Again, in *The Lover’s Melancholy*, 1629 :

“ We shall sort time to take more notice of him.”

STEEVENS.

¹ For I will buzz abroad such prophecies,

That Edward shall be fearful of his life ;] The quartos add a line between these :

“ — such prophecies,

“ Under pretence of outward seeming ill,

“ That,” &c. STEEVENS.

This line is not in the quarto printed by W. W. 1600; but it is in the undated quarto, which in fact was printed in 1619, from that printed in 1600 by V. S. MALONE.

SCENE VII.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

King EDWARD is discovered sitting on his Throne; Queen ELIZABETH with the infant Prince, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and Others, near him.

K. EDW. Once more we sit in England's royal throne,

Re-purchas'd with the blood of enemies.

What valiant foe-men, like to autumn's corn,
Have we mow'd down,² in tops of all their pride?
Three dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd
For hardy and undoubted champions:
Two Cliffords, as the father and the son,
And two Northumberlands; two braver men
Ne'er spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound:
‘With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and
Montague,

That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,
And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.
Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat,
And made our footstool of security.—
Come hither, Bess, and let me kiss my boy:—
Young Ned, for thee, thine uncles, and myself,
Have in our armours watch'd the winter's night;

² — like to autumn's corn,

Have we mow'd down,] A kindred image occurs in *King Henry V.* p. 378 :

“ — mowing like grass

“ Your fresh-fair virgins, and your flow'ring infants.”

STEEVENS.

‘ Went all a foot in summer’s scalding heat,
That thou might’st repossess the crown in peace ;
And of our labours thou shalt reap the gain.

Glo. I’ll blast his harvest, if your head were laid ;
For yet I am not look’d on in the world.
This shoulder was ordain’d so thick, to heave ;
And heave it shall some weight, or break my back :—
Work thou the way,—and thou shalt execute.³

[*Aside.*

K. EDW. Clarence, and Gloster, love my lovely
queen ;
And kiss your princely nephew, brothers both.

CLAR. The duty, that I owe unto your majesty,
I seal upon the lips of this sweet babe.

K. EDW. Thanks, noble Clarence ; worthy brother, thanks.⁴

³ *Work thou the way,—and thou shalt execute.]* I believe we
should read :

— and this shall execute.

Richard laying his hand on his forehead says :

Work thou the way—

then bringing down his hand, and beholding it :

— and this shall execute.

Though *that* may stand, the arm being included in the shoulder.

JOHNSON.

The quartos read :

“ Work thou the way, and thou shalt execute.”

I suppose he speaks this line, first touching his *head*, and then
looking on his hand. STEEVENS.

This is the reading of the old play. The folio reads—and *that*
shalt execute. But as the word *shalt* is preserved, the other
must have been an error of the transcriber or compositor.

MALONE.

⁴ *Thanks, noble Clarence; worthy brother, thanks.]* The
quarto appropriates this line to the *Queen*. The first and second
folio, by mistake, have given it to *Clarence*.

In my copy of the second folio, which had belonged to

‘ *GLO.* And, that I love the tree from whence
thou sprang’st,
‘ Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit :—
To say the truth, so Judas kiss’d his }
master ;
‘ And cried—all hail ! when as he meant } *Aside.*
—all harm.

K. EDW. Now am I seated as my soul delights,
Having my country’s peace, and brothers’ loves.

CLAR. What will your grace have done with
Margaret ?

Reignier, her father, to the king of France
Hath pawn’d the Sicils and Jerusalem,
And hither have they sent it for her ransome.

K. EDW. Away with her, and waft her hence to
France.

And now what rests, but that we spend the time
With stately triumphs,⁵ mirthful comick shows,
Such as befit the pleasures of the court ?—
Sound, drums and trumpets !—farewell, sour annoy !

For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy. [*Exeunt.*

King Charles the First, his Majesty has erased—*Cla*, and written
King, in its stead.—Shakspeare, therefore, in the catalogue of his
restorers, may boast of a Royal name. STEEVENS.

⁵ *With stately triumphs,*] *Triumphs* are publick shows. This word has occurred too frequently to need exemplification in the present instance. STEEVENS.

THE following SUMMARY ACCOUNT* of the times and places of the several battles fought between the two houses of York and Lancaster, and of the numbers killed on both sides, is given by Trussel, at the end of his *History of England*, a book of little value, but in matters of this kind tolerably correct. I have compared his account with our earliest historians, and in some places corrected it by them.

1. THE BATTLE OF SAINT ALBANS, fought on the 23d of May 1455, between Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and King Henry VI. In this battle the Duke of York was victorious, and Henry was taken prisoner.

KILLED, on the royal side 5041, (among whom were Edmond Duke of Somerset, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, and Thomas Lord Clifford;) on the side of the Duke of York, 600. TOTAL—5641.

2. THE BATTLE OF BLOARHEATH in Shropshire, fought on the 30th of September 1459, between James Lord Audley on the part of King Henry, and Richard Nevil Earl of Salisbury on the part of the Duke of York; in which battle Lord Audley was slain, and his army defeated.

KILLED—2411.

3. THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON, 20th of July, 1460, between Edward Plantagenet, Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York, and Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick, on the one side, and King Henry on the other; in which the Yorkists were victorious.

KILLED—1035, among whom were John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, and Sir William Lucy.

4. THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, December 30, 1460, between Richard Duke of York and Queen Margaret; in which the Duke of York was defeated.

KILLED—2801, among whom were the Duke of York, Edmond Earl of Rutland his second son, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, his base uncles, and the Earl of Shrewsbury. Richard Nevil Earl of Salisbury was in this battle taken prisoner, and afterwards beheaded at Pomfret.

5. THE BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS, in Herefordshire,

* Mr. Ritson, among his *Remarks*, 1783, p. 130, has also enumerated the following battles, &c. but as Mr. Malone's subsequent account of the same occurrences is the more ample of the two, I have adopted it. STEEVENS.

on Candlemas-day, 1460-1, between Edward Duke of York, on the one side, and Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and James Butler Earl of Wiltshire, on the other ; in which the Duke of York was victorious.

KILLED—3800, among whom was Sir Owen Tether or Tudors, who married Queen Katharine, the widow of King Henry V.

6. THE SECOND BATTLE OF SAINT ALBANS, February 17, 1460-1, between Queen Margaret on the one side, and the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick on the other ; in which the Queen obtained the victory.

KILLED—2303 ; among whom was Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, whose widow, Lady Grey, afterwards married King Edward the Fourth.

7. THE ACTION AT FERRYBRIDGE, in Yorkshire, March 28, 1461, between Lord Clifford on the part of King Henry, and the Lord Fitzwalter on the part of the Duke of York.

KILLED—230, among whom were Lord Fitzwalter, John Lord Clifford, and the bastard son of the Earl of Salisbury.

8. THE BATTLE OF TOWTON, four miles from York, Palm-Sunday, March 29, 1461, between Edward Duke of York and King Henry ; in which King Henry was defeated.

KILLED—37,046, among whom were Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Nevil, Beaumont, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Gray, Dacres, and Fitzhugh. The Earl of Devonshire was taken prisoner, and soon afterwards beheaded at York.

9. THE BATTLE OF HEDGELEY MOOR, in Northumberland, April 29, 1463, between John Nevil Viscount Montague, on the part of King Edward IV. and the Lords Hungerford and Roos on the part of King Henry VI: in which the Yorkists were victorious.

KILLED—108, among whom was Sir Ralph Percy.

10. THE BATTLE OF HEXHAM, May 15, 1463, between Viscount Montague and King Henry, in which that King was defeated.

KILLED—2024. Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and the Lord Roos and Hungerford, fighting on the side of King Henry, were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards beheaded.

11. THE BATTLE OF HEDGECOTE, four miles from Banbury, July 25, 1469, between William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, on the part of King Edward, and the Lords Fitzhugh and Latimer,

and Sir John Conyers, on the part of King Henry; in which the Lancastrians were defeated.

KILLED—5009. The Earl of Pembroke and his brother, Richard Widville Earl of Rivers, father to King Edward's Queen, Sir John Widville, John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, the Lords Willoughby, Stafford, and Wells, were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards beheaded.

13. THE BATTLE OF STAMFORD, in Lincolnshire, October 1, 1469, between Sir Robert Wells and King Edward; in which the former was defeated and taken prisoner. The vanquished who fled, in order to lighten themselves, threw away their coats, whence the place of combat was called *Losecoatfield*.

KILLED—10,000.

14. THE BATTLE OF BARNET, on Easter-Sunday, April 14, 1471, between King Edward on one side, and the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Montague, and the Earl of Oxford, on the part of King Henry VI. in which the Lancastrians were defeated.

KILLED—10,300; among whom were the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Montague, the Lord Cromwell, and the son and heir of Lord Say.

In a letter which was written at London four days after the battle of Barnet, the total number killed on both sides is said to have been “more than *a thousand*.” *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 65. Fabian, the nearest contemporary historian, says 1500.

The custom among our old writers of using Arabick numerals, has been the cause of innumerable errors, the carelessness of a transcriber or printer by the addition of a cipher converting hundreds into thousands. From the inaccuracy in the present instance we have ground to suspect that the numbers said to have fallen in the other battles between the houses of York and Lancaster, have been exaggerated. Sir John Paston, who was himself at the battle of Barnet, was probably correct.

15. THE BATTLE OF TEWKSBURY, May 3, 1471, between King Edward and Queen Margaret, in which the Queen was defeated, and she and her son Prince Edward were taken prisoners.

On the next day the Prince was killed by King Edward and his brothers, and Edmond Duke of Somerset beheaded.

KILLED—3,032. Shortly afterwards, in an action between the bastard son of Lord Falconbridge and some Londoners, 1092 persons were killed.

16. THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH, in Leicestershire, August 22, 1485, between King Richard III. and Henry Earl of Richmond,

afterwards King Henry VII. in which King Richard was defeated and slain.

KILLED, on the part of Richard, 4,013, among whom were John Duke of Norfolk, and Walter Lord Ferrers; on the part of Richmond, 181.

THE TOTAL NUMBER of persons who fell in this contest, was NINETY-ONE THOUSAND AND TWENTY-SIX. MALONE.

The three parts of *King Henry VI.* are suspected, by Mr. Theobald, of being supposititious, and are declared, by Dr. Warburton, to be certainly not Shakspeare's. Mr. Theobald's suspicion arises from some obsolete words; but the phraseology is like the rest of our author's style, and single words, of which however I do not observe more than two, can conclude little.

Dr. Warburton gives no reason, but I suppose him to judge upon deeper principles and more comprehensive views, and to draw his opinion from the general effect and spirit of the composition, which he thinks inferior to the other historical plays.

From mere inferiority nothing can be inferred; in the productions of wit there will be inequality. Sometimes judgment will err, and sometimes the matter itself will defeat the artist. Of every author's works one will be the best, and one will be the worst. The colours are not equally pleasing, nor the attitudes equally graceful, in all the pictures of Titian or Reynolds.

Dissimilitude of style and heterogeneousness of sentiment, may sufficiently show that a work does not really belong to the reputed author. But in these plays no such marks of spuriousness are found. The diction, the versification, and the figures, are Shakspeare's. These plays, considered, without regard to characters and incidents, merely as narratives in verse, are more happily conceived, and more accurately finished than those of *K. John*, *Richard II.* or the tragick scenes of *King Henry IV.* and *V.* If we take these plays from Shakspeare, to whom shall they be given? What author of that age had the same easiness of expression and fluency of numbers?

Having considered the evidence given by the plays themselves, and found it in their favour, let us now enquire what corroboration can be gained from other testimony. They are ascribed to Shakspeare by the first editors, whose attestation may be received in questions of fact, however unskilfully they superintended their edition. They seem to be declared genuine by the voice of Shakspeare himself, who refers to the second play in his epilogue to *King Henry V.* and apparently connects the first Act of *King Richard III.* with the last of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* If it be objected that the plays were popular and

that therefore he alluded to them as well known ; it may be answered, with equal probability, that the natural passions of a poet would have disposed him to separate his own works from those of an inferior hand. And, indeed, if an author's own testimony is to be overthrown by speculative criticism, no man can be any longer secure of literary reputation.

Of these three plays I think the second the best. The truth is, that they have not sufficient variety of action, for the incidents are too often of the same kind ; yet many of the characters are well discriminated. King Henry, and his Queen, King Edward, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Warwick, are very strongly and distinctly painted.

The old copies of the two latter parts of *King Henry VI.* and of *King Henry V.* are so apparently imperfect and mutilated, that there is no reason for supposing them the first draughts of Shakspeare. I am inclined to believe them copies taken by some auditor who wrote down, during the representation, what the time would permit, then perhaps filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and, when he had by this method formed something like a play, sent it to the printer.

JOHNSON.

So, Heywood, in the Preface to his *Rape of Lucrece*, (fourth impression,) 1630 :

“—for though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage and after to the press, for my own part I here proclaim myself ever faithful to the first, and never guilty of the last : yet since some of my plays have (unknown to me, and without any of my direction,) accidentally come into the printer’s hands, and therefore so corrupt and mangled (*copied only by the ear,*) that I have been as unable to know them as ashamed to challenge them, this therefore I was the willinger,” &c.

COLLINS.

There is another circumstance which may serve to strengthen Dr. Johnson’s supposition, viz. that most of the fragments of Latin verses, omitted in the quartos, are to be found in the folio ; and when any of them are inserted in the former, they are shamefully corrupted and misspelt. The auditor, who understood English, might be unskilled in any other language.

STEEVENS.

I formerly coincided with Dr. Johnson on this subject, at a time when I had examined the two old plays published in quarto under the title of *The Whole Contention of the Two famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, in two parts, with less attention than I have lately done. That dramas were sometimes imper-

fectly taken down in the theatre, and afterwards published in a mutilated state, is proved decisively by the prologue to a play entitled, *If you know not Me you know Nobody*, by Thomas Heywood, 1623 :

“ ————— ’Twas ill nurst,
 “ And yet receiv’d as well perform’d at first ;
 “ Grac’d and frequented ; for the cradle age
 “ Did throng the seats, the boxes, and the stage,
 “ So much, that some by *stenography* drew
 “ The plot, *put it in print*, scarce one word true :
 “ And in that lameness it has limp’d so long,
 “ The author now, to vindicate that wrong,
 “ Hath took the pains upright upon its feet
 “ To teach it walk ; so please you, sit and see it.”

But the old plays in quarto, which have been hitherto supposed to be imperfect representations of the second and third parts of *King Henry VI.* are by no means mutilated and imperfect. The scenes are as well connected, and the versification as correct, as that of most of the other dramas of that time. The fact therefore, which Heywood’s Prologue ascertains, throws no light upon the present contested question. Such observations as I have made upon it, I shall subjoin in a distinct Essay on the subject.

MALONE.

I have already given some reasons, why I cannot believe, that these plays were originally written by Shakspeare. The question, who did write them ? is, at best, but an argument *ad ignorantiam*. We must remember, that very many old plays are anonymous ; and that *play-writing* was scarcely yet thought reputable : nay, some authors express for it great horrors of repentance.—I will attempt, however, at some future time, to answer this question : the disquisition of it would be too long for this place.

One may at least argue, that the plays were not written by Shakspeare, from Shakspeare himself. The *Chorus* at the end of *King Henry V.* addresses the audience—

“ ————— For their sake,
 “ In your fair minds let this acceptance take.”

But it could be neither agreeable to the poet’s judgment of his modesty, to recommend his new play from the merit and success of *King Henry VI.*—His claim to indulgence is, that, though bending and unequal to the task, he has ventured to pursue the story : and this sufficiently accounts for the connection of the whole, and the allusions of particular passages. FARMER.

It is seldom that Dr. Farmer's arguments fail to enforce conviction ; but here, perhaps, they may want somewhat of their usual weight. I think that Shakspeare's bare mention of these pieces is a sufficient proof they were his. That they were so, could be his only motive for inferring benefit to himself from the spectator's recollection of their past success. For the sake of three historical dramas of mine which have already afforded you entertainment, let me (says he) intreat your indulgence to a fourth. Surely this was a stronger plea in his behalf, than any arising from the kind reception which another might have already met with in the same way of writing. Shakspeare's claim to favour is founded on his having previously given pleasure in the course of three of those histories ; because he is a *bending*, supplicatory author, and not a literary bully, like Ben Jonson ; and because he has ventured to exhibit a series of annals in a suite of plays, an attempt which till then had not received the sanction of the stage.

I hope Dr. Farmer did not wish to exclude the three dramas before us, together with *The Taming of the Shrew*, from the number of those produced by our author, on account of the Latin quotations to be found in them. His proofs of Shakspeare's want of learning are too strong to stand in need of such a support. STEEVENS.

Though the objections which have been raised to the genuineness of the *three plays of Henry the Sixth* have been fully considered and answered by Dr. Johnson, it may not be amiss to add here, from a contemporary writer, a passage, which not only points at Shakspeare as the author of them, but also shows, that, however meanly we may now think of them in comparison with his latter productions, they had, at the time of their appearance, a sufficient degree of excellence to alarm the jealousy of the older play-wrights. The passage, to which I refer, is in a pamphlet, entitled, *Greene's Groatsworth of Witte*, supposed to have been written by that voluminous author, Robert Greene, M. A. and said, in the title-page, to be published at his dying request ; probably about 1592. The conclusion of this piece is an address to his brother poets, to dissuade them from writing any more for the stage, on account of the ill treatment which they were used to receive from the players. It begins thus : *To those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making playes, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, &c.* After having addressed himself particularly to Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Lodge, (as I guess from circumstances, for their names are not mentioned;) he goes on to a third, (perhaps George Peele;) and

having warned him against depending on so mean a stay as the players, he adds: *Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his tygres head wrapt in a players hyde, supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes fac totum is, in his own conceit, the onely Shake-scene in a countrey.* There can be no doubt, I think, that *Shake-scene* alludes to *Shakspeare*; or that *his tygres head wrapt in a players hyde*, is a parodie upon the following line of York's speech to Margaret, *Third Part of King Henry VI.* Act I. sc. iv:

“ Oh tygres heart, wrapt in a woman's hide.”

TYRWHITT.

III

DISSERTATION

ON

THE THREE PARTS

OF

KING HENRY VI.

THE CONTENTS.

THE subject stated. The inferior parts in these three plays being of a different complexion from the inferior parts of Shakespeare's undoubted performances, a proof that they were not written *originally* and *entirely* by him, p. 223.—Mr. Malone's hypothesis. *The First Part of K. Henry VI.* not written by him. *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* formed by Shakespeare on two elder plays, the one entitled *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the good Duke Humphrey, &c.* the other, *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henry the Sixt.* p. 224.

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI.

The diction, versification, and allusions, of this piece all different from the diction, versification, and allusions of Shakspeare, and corresponding with those of the dramatists that preceded him, p. 224—231. Date of this play some years before 1592; p. 231. Other internal evidence (beside the diction, &c.) that this piece was not written by Shakspeare; nor by the author of *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses, &c.* nor by the author of *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, p. 231—234. Presumptive proof that this play was not written by Shakspeare, from its not containing any similarities of thought to his undisputed plays, nor of expression, (except in a single instance,) and from its general paucity of rhymes, p. 234, 235.

THE SECOND AND THIRD PART OF KING HENRY VI.

I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE. 1. The entry of *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses &c.* at Stationers' Hall in 1594, *anonymous*. 2. That piece, and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, printed in 1600, *anonymously*. Shakspeare's name afterwards fraudulently affixed to these pieces, and why. The same artifice practised with respect to other plays *on which he had constructed dramas*, p. 235, 236. 3. These two old plays performed by Lord Pembroke's Servants, by whom *Titus Andronicus*, and *The old Taming of a Shrew* were performed, and by whom not one of Shakspeare's undisputed plays were represented, p. 236. 4. Reasons assigned for supposing Robert Greene, or George Peele, or both, the author or authors of the old plays, p. 237, 238. 5. These pieces *new-modelled* and *re-written* by Shakspeare, with great additions, which in the present edition are distinguished by a peculiar mark, p. 238, 239. The mode taken by Shakspeare, p. 239—242. 6. The fraud of Pavier the

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bookseller, who in the year 1619, after the death of Shakspeare, affixed his name to these two old plays, accounted for, p. 243. 7. These two old pieces being printed and reprinted, and *The First Part of King Henry VI.* not being printed, in Shakspeare's life time, a presumptive proof that he new-modelled the former, and had little or no concern with the latter, p. 244.

II. INTERNAL EVIDENCE. 1. The VARIATIONS between the two old plays in quarto, and the corresponding pieces in the folio edition of our author's dramatick works, of so peculiar a nature, as to mark *two distinct hands*. Several passages and circumstances found in the old plays, of which there is no trace in Shakspeare's new modification of them ; others materially varying. These insertions and variations could not have arisen from unskilful copyists or short-hand writers, who sometimes curtail and mutilate, but do not invent and amplify, p. 244—249. 2. The RESEMBLANCES between certain passages in Shakspeare's *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* and his undisputed works, a proof that he wrote a large portion of those plays ; and 3. The DISCORDANCIES between them and his undisputed plays, a proof that he did not write the whole ; these resemblances being found *only* in the folio, that is, in the plays as new-modelled by Shakspeare ; and these discordancies being found in the old quarto plays, from whence it must be presumed that they were adopted through carelessness or haste, p. 249—251. 4. The peculiar INACCURACIES of Shakspeare ; and 5. his peculiar PHRASEOLOGY, which are found in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* as exhibited in folio, and not in the old quarto plays printed in 1600, prove that there were two distinct hands in these pieces; p. 252, 254. So also do, 6. The TRANSPOSITIONS, p. 254 ; and 7. the REPETITIONS, p. 255 ; and 8. the INCONSISTENCIES arising from sometimes following, and sometimes departing from, an original model, p. 255, 256. 9. Hall, the historian, on whose Chronicle the old plays in quarto were constructed ; but Holinshed and not Hall, Shakspeare's historian, p. 256, 257.

The old plays on which Shakspeare formed his *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* probably written by the author of *King John*, printed in 1591, whoever he was ; p. 258. An attempt made to account for *The First Part of King Henry VI.* being printed in the first folio edition of our poet's dramatick works, p. 258, 259. Objections of Dr. Johnson and others, enumerated. Recapitulation, p. 259, 260. A considerable part of the English history dramatized before the time of Shakspeare ; and many of his historical and other plays formed on those of preceding writers, p. 260—262. Conclusion, p. 262.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE THREE PARTS

OF

KING HENRY VI.

TENDING TO SHOW

*That those Plays were NOT written ORIGINALLY by
SHAKSPEARE.*

SEVERAL passages in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* appearing evidently to be of the hand of Shakspeare, I was long of opinion that the three historical dramas which are the subject of the present disquisition, were properly ascribed to him; not then doubting that the whole of these plays was the production of the same person. But a more minute investigation of the subject, into which I have been led by the revision of all our author's works, has convinced me, that, though the premises were true, my conclusion was too hastily drawn; for though the hand of Shakspeare is unquestionably found in the two latter of these plays, it does not therefore necessarily follow, that they were *originally* and *entirely* composed by him. My thoughts upon this point have already been intimated in the foregoing notes; but it is now necessary for me to state my opinion more particularly, and to lay before the reader the grounds on which, after a very careful enquiry, it has been formed.

What at present I have chiefly in view is, to account for the visible *inequality* in these pieces; many traits of Shakspeare being clearly discernible in them, while the inferior parts are not merely unequal to the rest, (from which no certain conclusion can be drawn,) but of quite a different complexion from the inferior parts of our author's undoubted performances.

My hypothesis then is, that *The First Part of King Henry VI.* as it now appears, (of which no quarto copy is extant,) was the entire or nearly the entire production of some ancient dramatist; that *The Whole Contention of the Two Houses of York and Lancaster, &c.* written probably before the year 1590, and printed in quarto, in 1600, was also the composition of some writer who preceded Shakspeare; and that from this piece, which is in two parts, (the former of which is entitled, *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the good Duke Humphrey, &c.* and the latter, *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt,*) our poet formed the two plays, entitled, *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* as they appear in the first folio edition of his works.

Mr. Upton has asked, “ How does the painter distinguish copies from originals but by manner and style? And have not authors their peculiar style and manner, from which a true critick can form as unerring a judgment as a painter? ” Dr. Johnson, though he has shown, with his usual acuteness, that “ this illustration of the critick’s science will not prove what is desired,” acknowledges in a preceding note, that “ dissimilitude of style and heterogeneousness of sentiment may sufficiently show that a work does not really belong to the reputed author. But in these plays (he adds) no such marks of spuriousness are found. The diction, versification, and the figures, are Shakspeare’s.”—By these criterions then let us examine *The First Part of K. Henry VI.* (for I choose to consider that piece separately;) and if the diction, the figures, or rather the allusions, and the versification of that play, (for these are our surest guides) shall appear to be different from the other two parts, *as they are exhibited in the folio,* and from our author’s other plays, we may fairly conclude that he was not the writer of it.

I. With respect to the diction and the allusions, which I shall consider under the same head, it is very observable that in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* there are more allusions to mythology, to classical authors, and to ancient and modern history, than, I believe, can be found in any one piece of our author’s, written on an English story; and that these allusions are introduced very much in the same manner as they are introduced in the plays of Greene, Peele, Lodge, and other dramatists who preceded Shakspeare; that is, they do not naturally arise out of the subject, but seem to be inserted merely to shew the writer’s learning.* Of these the following are the most remarkable:

* ————— to shew the writer’s learning.] This appearance of pedantry, if not assumed in imitation of Greene &c. (See Vol. XIII. p. 3,) would only induce

1. Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens,
So in the earth, to this day is not known.
2. A far more glorious star thy soul will make
Than Julius Cæsar, or bright—

This blank, Dr. Johnson with the highest probability conjectures, should be filled up with “Berenice;” a word that the transcriber or compositor probably could not make out. In the same manner he left a blank in a subsequent passage for the name of “Nero,” as is indubitably proved by the following line, which ascertains the omitted word. See No. 6.

3. Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?
4. Helen, the mother of great Constantine,
Nor yet Saint Philip’s daughters, were like thee.
5. Froisard, a countryman of ours, records, &c.
6. _____ and, like thee, [Nero,]

Play on the lute, beholding the towns burning.

[In the original copy there is a blank where the word *Nero* is now placed.]

7. The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,
Exceeding the nine Sybils of old Rome.
8. A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,
Drives back our troops—.
9. Divinest creature, Astraea’s daughter—.
10. _____ Adonis’ gardens,
That one day bloom’d, and fruitful were the next.
11. A statelier pyramis to her I’ll rear,
Than Rhodope’s, or Memphis’, ever was.
12. _____ an urn more precious
Than the rich-jewel’d coffer of Darius.
13. I shall as famous be by this exploit,
As Scythian Thomyris, by Cyrus’ death.
14. I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspéct.
15. Nestor-like aged, in an age of care.
16. Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete,
Thou Icarus.
17. Where is the great Alcides of the field?
18. Now am I like that proud insulting ship,
That Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.

me to think that the piece now under consideration might be the work of a juvenile writer; and why not one of Shakspeare’s earliest dramatick effusions? The first themes composed by schoolboys are always stuffed with a tritical parade of literature, such as is found in antiquated plays, some of which, our author, while yet immature, might have taken for his model. STEEVENS.

19. Is Talbot slain ; the Frenchman's only scourge,
Your kingdom's terror, and black Nemesis ?
20. Thou may'st not wander in that labyrinth ;
There Minotaurs, and ugly treasons lurk.
21. See, how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
As if, with Circe, she would change my shape.
22. ————— thus he goes,
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece ;
With hope to find the like event in love.

Of particular expressions there are many in this play that seem to me more likely to have been used by the authors already named, than by Shakspeare ; but I confess, with Dr. Johnson, that single words can conclude little. However, I will just mention that the words *proditor* and *immanity*, which occur in this piece, are not, I believe, found in any of Shakspeare's undisputed performances : not to insist on a direct Latinism, *pile-esteemed*, which I am confident was the word intended by the author, though, being a word of his own formation, the compositor has printed —*pil'd-esteem'd*, instead of it.*

The versification of this play appears to me clearly of a different colour from that of all our author's genuine dramas, while at the same time it resembles that of many of the plays produced before the time of Shakspeare.

In all the tragedies written before his time, or just when he commenced author, a certain stately march of versification is very observable. The sense concludes or pauses almost uniformly at the end of every line ; and the verse has scarcely ever a redundant syllable. As the reader may not have any of these pieces at hand, (by the possession of which, however, his library would not be much enriched,) I shall add a few instances,—the first that occur :

“ Most loyal lords, and faithful followers,
“ That have with me, unworthy general,
“ Passed the greedy gulph of Ocean,
“ Leaving the confines of fair Italy,
“ Behold, your Brutus draweth nigh his end.
“ And I must leave you, though against my will.
“ My sinews shrink, my numbed senses fail,
“ A chilling cold possesseth all my bones ;
“ Black ugly death, with visage pale and wan,
“ Presents himself before my dazzled eyes,
“ And with his dart prepared is to strike.”

Locrine, 1595.

* See *King Henry VI. P. I.* Vol. XIII. p. 39, n. 4.

“ My lord of Gloucester, and lord Mortimer,
 “ To do you honour in your sovereign’s eyes,
 “ That, as we hear, is newly come aland,
 “ From Palestine, with all his men of war,
 “ (The poor remainder of the royal fleet,
 “ Preserv’d by miracle in Sicil road,)
 “ Go mount your coursers, meet him on the way ;
 “ Pray him to spur his steed, minutes and hours,
 “ Untill his mother see her princely son,
 “ Shining in glory of his safe return.”

Edward I. by George Peele, 1593.

“ Then go thy ways, and clime up to the clouds,
 “ And tell Apollo that Orlando sits
 “ Making of verses for Angelica.
 “ And if he do deny to send me down
 “ The shirt which Deianira sent to Hercules,
 “ To make me brave upon my wedding day,
 “ Tell him I’ll pass the Alps, and up to Merœ,
 “ (I know he knows that watry lakish hill)
 “ And pull the harp out of the minstrels hands,
 “ And pawne it unto lovely Proserpine,
 “ That she may fetch the faire Angelica.”

*Orlando Furioso, by Robert Greene, printed in
 1599 ; written before 1592.*

“ The work that Ninus rear’d at Babylon,
 “ The brazen walls fram’d by Semiramis,
 “ Carv’d out like to the portal of the sunne,
 “ Shall not be such as rings the English strand
 “ From Dover to the market-place of Rye.”

* * *

“ To plain our questions, as Apollo did.”

* * *

“ Facile and debonaire in all his deeds,
 “ Proportion’d as was Paris, when in gray,
 “ He courted Oenon in the vale by Troy.”

* * *

“ Who dar’d for Edward’s sake cut through the seas,
 “ And venture as Agenor’s damsel through the deepe.”

* * *

“ England’s rich monarch, brave Plantagenet,
 “ The Pyren mountains swelling above the clouds,
 “ That ward this wealthy Castile in with walls,
 “ Could not detain the beauteous Eleanor ;
 “ But hearing of the fame of Edward’s youth,

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“ She dar’d to brave Neptunus’ haughty pride,
 “ And brave the brunt of foward Eolus.”

* * *

“ Daphne, the damsel that caught Phœbus fast,
 “ And lock’d him in the brightness of her looks,
 “ Was not so beauteous in Apollo’s eyes,
 “ As is fair Margaret, to the Lincoln earl.”

* * *

“ We must lay plots for stately tragedies,
 “ Strange comick shews, such as proud Roscius
 “ Vaunted before the Roman emperours.”

* * *

“ Lacy, thou can’t not shrowd thy traiterous thoughts,
 “ Nor cover, as did Cassius, all his wiles ;
 “ For Edward hath an eye that looks as far
 “ As Lynceus from the shores of Greecia.”

* * *

“ Pardon, my lord : If Jove’s great royalty
 “ Sent me such presents as to Danae ;
 “ If Phœbus tied to Latona’s webs,
 “ Came courting from the beauty of his lodge ;
 “ The dulcet tunes of frolick Mercurie,
 “ Nor all the wealth heaven’s treasury affords
 “ Should make me leave lord Lacy or his love.”

* * *

“ What will thou do ?—

“ Shew thee the tree leav’d with refined gold,
 “ Whereon the fearful dragon held his seate,
 “ That watch’d the garden call’d Hesperides,
 “ Subdued and wonne by conquering Hercules.”

* * *

“ ————— Margaret,

“ That overshines our damsels, as the moone
 “ Darkens the brightest sparkles of the night.”

* * *

“ Should Paris enter in the courts of Greece,
 “ And not lie fetter’d in fair Helen’s looks ?
 “ Or Phœbus scape those piercing amorists,
 “ That Daphne glanced at his deitie ?
 “ Can Edward then sit by a flame and freeze,
 “ Whose heats put Hellen and fair Daphne down ?”

The Honourable Historie of Friar Bacon, &c. by Robert Greene ; written before 1592, printed in 1598.

“ King. Thus far, ye English Peers, have we display’d
 “ Our waving ensigns with a happy war ;

“ Thus nearly hath our furious rage reveng’d
 “ My daughter’s death upon the traitorous Scot ;
 “ And now before Dunbar our camp is pitch’d,
 “ Which if it yield not to our compromise,
 “ The place shall furrow where the palace stood,
 “ And fury shall envy so high a power,
 “ That mercy shall be banish’d from our sword.

“ *Doug.* What seeks the English king ?

“ *King.* Scot, ope those gates, and let me enter in.
 “ Submit thyself and thine unto my grace,
 “ Or I will put each mother’s son to death,
 “ And lay this city level with the ground.”

James IV. by Robert Greene, printed in 1598 ;
 written before 1592.

“ Valeria, attend ; I have a lovely bride
 “ As bright as is the heaven chrystaline ;
 “ As faire as is the milke-white way of Jove,
 “ As chaste as Phœbe in her summer sports,
 “ As soft and tender as the azure downe
 “ That circles Citherea’s silver doves ;
 “ Her do I meane to make my lovely bride,
 “ And in her bed to breathe the sweet content
 “ That I, thou know’st, long time have aimed at.”

The Taming of a Shrew, written before 1594.

“ *Pol.* Faire Emilia, summers bright sun queene,
 “ Brighter of hew than is the burning clime
 “ Where Phœbus in his bright equator sits,
 “ Creating gold and pretious minerals,
 “ What would Emilia doe, if I were fond
 “ To leave faire Athens, and to range the world ?
 “ *Emil.* Should thou assay to scale the seate of Jove,
 “ Mounting the subtle airie regions,
 “ Or be snatcht up, as erst was Ganimede,
 “ Love should give wings unto my swift desires,
 “ And prune my thoughts, that I would follow thee,
 “ Or fall and perish as did Icarus.” *Ibid.*

“ Barons of England, and my noble lords,
 “ Though God and fortune hath bereft from us
 “ Victorious Richard, scourge of infidels,
 “ And clad this land in stole of dismal hue,
 “ Yet give me leave to joy, and joy you all,
 “ That from this wombe hath sprung a second hope,
 “ A king that may in rule and virtue both
 “ Succeed his brother in his emperie.”

The Troublesome Raigne of King John, 1591.

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- “ — as sometimes Phaeton,
 “ Mistrusting silly Merops for his sire.” *Ibid.*
 “ As cursed Nero with his mother did,
 “ So I with you, if you resolve me not.” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ Peace, Arthur, peace ! thy mother makes thee wings,
 “ To soar with peril after Icarus.” *Ibid.*
 “ How doth Alecto whisper in my ears,
 “ Delay not, Philip, kill the villaine straight.” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ *Philippus atavis edite regibus,*
 “ What saist thou, Philip, sprung of ancient kings,—
 “ *Quo me rapit tempestas?*” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ Morpheus, leave here thy silent ebon cave,
 “ Besiege his thoughts with dismal phantasies ;
 “ And ghastly objects of pale threatening Mors,
 “ Affright him every minute with stern looks.” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ Here is the ransome that allaiers his rage,
 “ The first freehold that Richard left his sonne,
 “ With which I shall surprize his living spies,
 “ As Hector’s statue did the fainting Greeks.” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ This cursed country, where the traitors breathe,
 “ Whose perjurie (as proud Briareus)
 “ Beleaguers all the sky with misbelief.” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ Must Constance speak ? let tears prevent her talk.
 “ Must I discourse ? let *Dido* sigh, and say,
 “ She weeps again to hear the wrack of Troy.” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ John, ’tis thy sins that make it miserable,
 “ *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*” *Ibid.*
 * * *
- “ King. Robert of Artoys, banish’d though thou be,
 “ From France, thy native country, yet with us
 “ Thou shalt retain as great a signorie,
 “ For we create thee earle of Richmond here :
 “ And now go forwards with our pedigree ;
 “ Who next succeeded Philip of Bew ?
 “ Art. Three sonnes of his, which, all successfully,
 “ Did sit upon their father’s regal throne ;
 “ Yet died, and left no issue of their loynes.
 “ King. But was my mother sister unto these ?

"Art. She was, my lord ; and only Isabel
 "Was all the daughters that this Philip had."

The Raigne of King Edward III. 1596.

The tragedies of *Marius and Sylla*, by T. Lodge 1594, *A Looking Glass for London and England*, by T. Lodge and R. Greene, 1598, *Solyman and Perseda*, written before 1592, *Selimus, Emperour of the Turks*, 1594, *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1592, and *Titus Andronicus*, will all furnish examples of a similar versification ; a versification so exactly corresponding with that of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* and *The Whole Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, &c. as it originally appeared, that I have no doubt these plays were the production of some one or other of the authors of the pieces above quoted or enumerated.

A passage in a pamphlet written by Thomas Nashe, an intimate friend of Greene, Peele, &c. shows that *The First Part of King Henry VI.* had been on the stage before 1592 ; and his favourable mention of this piece inclines me to believe that it was written by a friend of his. "How would it have joyed brave Talbot, (says Nashe in *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devil*, 1592,) the terror of the French, to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his tombe, he should triumph again on the stage ; and have his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, (at several times) who in the tragedian that represents his person behold him fresh bleeding."

This passage was several years ago pointed out by my friend Dr. Farmer, as a proof of the hypothesis which I am now endeavouring to establish. That it related to the old play of *King Henry VI.* or, as it is now called, *The First Part of K. Henry VI.* cannot, I think, be doubted. *Talbot* appears in the *First part*, and not in the *second* or *third* part ; and is expressly spoken of in the play, (as well as in Hall's *Chronicle*,) as "the terror of the French." Holinshed, who was Shakspeare's guide, omits the passage in Hall, in which Talbot is thus described ; and this is an additional proof that this play was not our author's. But of this more hereafter.

The First Part of King Henry VI. (as it is now called) furnishes us with other *internal* proofs also of its not being the work of Shakspeare.

1. The author of that play, whoever he was, does not seem to have known precisely how old Henry the Sixth was at the time of his father's death. He opens his play indeed with the funeral of Henry the Fifth, but no where mentions expressly the young king's age. It is clear, however, from one passage, that he sup-

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posed him to have passed the state of infancy before he lost his father, and even to have remembered some of his sayings. In the fourth Act, sc. iv. speaking of the famous Talbot, he says :

“ When I was young (as yet I am not old,) ”

“ I do remember how my father said,

“ A stouter champion never handled sword.”

But Shakspeare, as appears from two passages, one in the *second*, and the other in the *Third* part of *King Henry VI.* knew that that king could not possibly remember any thing his father had said ; and therefore Shakspeare could not have been the author of the *first* part.

“ No sooner was I crept out of my cradle,

“ But I was made a king at nine months old.”

King Henry VI. P. II. Act IV. sc. ix.

“ When I was crown’d, I was but nine months old.”

King Henry VI. P. III. Act I. sc. i.

The first of these passages is found in the folio copy of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* and not in *The First Part of the Contention*, &c. printed in quarto ; and according to my hypothesis, was one of Shakspeare’s additions to the old play. This therefore does not prove that the *original* author, whoever he was, was not likewise the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI* ; but, what is more material to our present question, it proves that *Shakspeare* could not be the author of that play. The second of these passages is found in *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. and is a decisive proof that *The First Part of King Henry VI.* was written *neither* by the author of that tragedy, nor by *Shakspeare*.

2. A second internal proof that Shakspeare was not the author of the *first* part of these three plays, is furnished by that scene, (Act II. sc. v. Vol. XIII. p. 81,) in which it is said, that the Earl of Cambridge *raised* an army against his sovereign. But Shakspeare in his play of *King Henry V.* has represented the matter truly as it was ; the Earl being in the second Act of that historical piece condemned at Southampton for conspiring to assassinate Henry.

3. I may likewise add, that the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* knew the true pronunciation of the word *Hecate*, and has used it as it is used by the Roman writers :

“ I speak not to that railing Heca-té.”

But Shakspeare in his *Macbeth* always uses *Hecate* as a dissyllable ; and therefore could not have been the author of the other piece.*

* It may perhaps appear a minute remark, but I cannot help observing that the second speech in this play ascertains the writer to have been very conversant with Hall’s *Chronicle* :

Having now, as I conceive, vindicated Shakspeare from being the writer of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* it may seem unnecessary to enquire who was the author; or whether it was the production of the same person or persons who wrote the two pieces, entitled, *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* However, I shall add a word or two on that point.

We have already seen that the author of the play last named could not have written *The First Part of King Henry VI.* The following circumstances prove that it could not have been written by the author of *The First Part of the Contention, &c.* supposing for a moment that piece, and *The true Tragedie of the Duke of Yorke, &c.* to have been the work of different hands.

1. The writer of *The First Part of the Contention, &c.* makes Salisbury say to Richard Duke of York, that the person from whom the Duke derived his title, (he means his maternal uncle Edmund Mortimer, though he ignorantly gives him a different appellation,) was “done to death by that monstrous rebel Owen Glendower;” and Shakspeare in this has followed him:

“ *Sal.* This Edmund, in the reign of Bolingbroke,

“ As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;

“ And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,

“ Who kept him in captivity, till he died.”

On this false assertion the Duke of York makes no remark. But the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* has represented

“ *What should I say?* † his deeds exceed all speech.”

This phrase is introduced on almost every occasion by that writer, when he means to be eloquent. Holinshed, and not Hall, was Shakspeare's historian (as has been already observed); this therefore is an additional proof that this play was not our author's.

— Shakspeare in his *Macbeth* always uses *Hecate* as a dissyllable; and therefore could not have been the author of the other piece.] By similar reasoning we might infer that Shakspeare was not author of *The Tempest*; for in this play *Stephano* is properly accented, but erroneously [*Stephāno*] in *The Merchant of Venice*; and that because *Prosper* occurs in one scene, and *Prospero* in another, that both scenes were not of Shakspeare's composition. The same might be said of *Antony and Cleopatra*, in which both *Enobarbe* and *Enobarbus* are found. This argument also might lead us to imagine that part of the *Iliad* which passes under the name of Mr. Pope, was not in reality translated by him; because in one book we have *Idōmeneus*, *Meriones*, and *Cebriones*, and in another *Idōmen*, *Merion*, and *Cebrion*. Most certainly, both Shakspeare and Pope occasionally accommodated their proper names to the structure of their verses. The abbreviation—*Hecat'* is therefore no proof of our author's ignorance that *Hecatē* was usually a trisyllable. STEEVENS.

† *What should I say?*] In page 611 of Mr. Malone's edition of *King Richard III.* Vol. VI. this very phrase occurs:

“ *What shall I say more than I have inferr'd?*” STEEVENS.

this Edmund Mortimer, not as put to death, or kept in captivity to the time of his death, by Owen Glendower, (who himself died in the second year of *King Henry V.*) but as a state prisoner, who died in the Tower in the reign of *King Henry VI.* in the presence of this very Duke of York, who was then only Richard Plantagenet.*

2. A correct statement of the issue of King Edward the Third, and of the title of Edmund Mortimer to the crown, is given in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* But in *The First Part of the Contention, &c.* we find a very incorrect and false statement of Edward's issue, and of the title of Mortimer, whose father, Roger Mortimer, the author of that piece ignorantly calls the *fifth son* of that monarch. Those two plays therefore could not have been the work of one hand.

On all these grounds it appears to me clear, that neither Shakspeare, nor the author of *The First Part of the Contention, &c.* or *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* could have been the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI.*

It is observable that in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* many thoughts and many modes of expression are found, which likewise occur in Shakspeare's other dramas : but in the *First Part* I recollect but one marked expression, that is also found in one of his undisputed performances :

“ As I am sick with *working of my thoughts.*”

So, in *King Henry V.*:

“ *Work, work your thoughts,* and therein see a siege.”

But surely this is too slight a circumstance to overturn all the other arguments that have now been urged to prove this play not the production of our author. The co-incidence might be accidental, for it is a co-incidence not of thought but of language ;—or the expression might have remained in his mind in consequence of his having often seen this play ; (we know that he has borrowed many other expressions from preceding writers;) —or lastly, this might have been one of the very few lines that he wrote on revising this piece ; which, however few they were, might, with other reasons, have induced the first publishers of his works in folio to print it with the *second* and *third* part, and to ascribe it to Shakspeare.

Before I quit this part of the subject, it may be proper to mention one other circumstance that renders it very improbable that Shakspeare should have been the author of *The First Part of K. Henry VI.* In this play, though one scene is entirely in rhyme, there are very few rhymes dispersed through the piece, and no

* See *The First Part of King Henry VI.* Vol. XIII. p. 73, and *The Second Part*, p. 239.

alternate rhymes ; both of which abound in our author's undisputed *early* plays. This observation indeed may likewise be extended to the *second* and *third* part of these historical dramas ; and perhaps it may be urged, that if this argument has any weight, it will prove that he had no hand in the composition of those plays. But there being no alternate rhymes in those two plays may be accounted for, by recollecting that in 1591, Shakspeare had not written his *Venus and Adonis*, or his *Rape of Lucrece* ; the measures of which perhaps insensibly led him to employ a similar kind of metre occasionally in the dramas that he wrote shortly after he had composed those poems. The paucity of regular rhymes must be accounted for differently. My solution is, that working up the materials which were furnished by a preceding writer, he naturally followed his mode : and in the original plays from which these two were formed very few rhymes are found. Nearly the same argument will apply to the *first* part ; for its date also, were that piece Shakspeare's, would account for the want of alternate rhymes. The paucity of regular rhymes indeed cannot be accounted for by saying that here too our author was following the track of another poet ; but the solution is unnecessary ; for from the beginning to the end of that play, except perhaps in some scenes of the fourth Act, there is not a single print of the footsteps of Shakspeare.

I have already observed, that it is highly improbable that *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of York and Lancaster*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, &c. printed in 1600, were written by the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* By whom these two plays were written, it is not here necessary to inquire ; it is sufficient, if probable reasons can be produced for supposing this two-part piece not to have been the composition of Shakspeare, but the work of some preceding writer, on which he formed those two plays which appear in the first folio edition of his works, comprehending a period of twenty-six years, from the time of Henry's marriage to that of his death.

H. I now therefore proceed to state my opinion concerning *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*

A book entitled, *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the good Duke Humphrie, and the Banishment and Deathe of the Duke of Yorke, and the tragical Ende of the proud Cardinal of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Jack Cade, and the Duke of Yorke's first Claine unto the Crown*, was entered at Stationers' Hall, by Thomas Millington, March 12, 1593-4. This play, however, (on which *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* is formed) was not then printed ; nor was *The true*

Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henry the Sixt, &c. (on which Shakspeare's *Third Part of King Henry VI.* is founded) entered at Stationers' Hall at the same time ; but they were both printed for T. Millington in 1600.*

The first thing that strikes us in this entry is, that *the name of Shakspeare is not mentioned* ; nor, when the two plays were published in 1600, did the printer ascribe them to our author in the title-page, (though his reputation was then at the highest,) as surely he would have done, had they been his compositions.

In a subsequent edition indeed of the same pieces, printed by one Pavier, without date, but in reality in 1619, after our great poet's death, the name of Shakspeare appears ; but this was a bookseller's trick, founded upon our author's celebrity ; on his having new-modelled these plays ; and on the proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars' theatre not having published Shakspeare's *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* The very same deception was practised with respect to *King John*. The old play (written perhaps by the same person who was the author of *The Contention of the Two famous Houses &c.*) was printed in 1591, like that piece, *anonymously*. In 1611, (Shakspeare's *King John*, founded on the same story, having been probably often acted and admired,) the old piece in two parts was reprinted ; and, in order to deceive the purchaser, was said in the title-page to be written by *W. Sh.* A subsequent printer in 1622 grew more bold, and affixed Shakspeare's name to it at full length.

It is observable that Millington, the bookseller, by whom *The first Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses, &c.* was entered at Stationers' Hall, in 1593-4, and for whom that piece and *The Tragedie of the Duke of York, &c.* were printed in 1600, was not the proprietor of any one of Shakspeare's undisputed plays, except *King Henry V.* of which he published a *spurious* copy, that, I think, must have been imperfectly taken down in short hand in the play-house.

The next observable circumstance, with respect to these two quarto plays, is, that they are said, in their title-pages, to have been "sundry times acted by the earle of Pembroke his servantes." *Titus Andronicus* and *The old Taming of a Shrew*, were acted by the same company of comedians ; but not one of our author's plays is said, in its title-page, to have been acted by any but the Lord Chamberlain's, or the Queen's, or King's

* They were probably printed in 1600, because Shakspeare's alterations of them were then popular, as *King Leir and his Three Daughters* was printed in 1605, because our author's play was probably at that time first produced.

servants.* This circumstance alone, in my opinion, might almost decide the question.

This much appears on the first superficial view of these pieces; but the passage quoted by Mr. Tyrwhitt from an old pamphlet, entitled Greene's *Groatsworth of Witte*, &c. affords a still more decisive support to the hypothesis that I am endeavouring to maintain; which, indeed, that pamphlet first suggested to me. As this passage is the chief hinge of my argument, though it has already been printed in a preceding page, it is necessary to lay it again before the reader.—“Yes,” says the writer, Robert Greene, (addressing himself, as Mr. Tyrwhitt conjectures with great probability, to his poetical friend, George Peele,) “trust them [the players] not; for there is an upstart crow BEAUTIFIED WITH OUR FEATHERS, that with his *tygres heart wrapt in a player's hide* supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is, in his own conceit, the only *Shake-scene* in a country.”—“O tyger's heart, wrapt in a woman's hide!” is a line of the old quarto play, entitled *The first Part of the Contention of the Two Houses*, &c.

That Shakspeare was here alluded to, cannot, I think, be doubted. But what does the writer mean by calling him “*a crow beautified with our feathers?*” My solution is, that GREENE and PEELE were the joint authors of the two quarto plays, entitled *The first Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, &c. or that Greene was the author of one, and Peele of the other. Greene's pamphlet, from whence the foregoing passage is extracted, was written recently before his death, which happened in September, 1592. How long he and Peele had been dramatick writers, is not precisely ascertained. Peele took the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford, in 1579: Greene took the same degree in Cambridge, in 1583. Each of them has left four or five plays, and they wrote several others, which have not been published. The earliest of Peele's printed pieces, *The Arraignment of Paris*, appeared in 1584; and one of Greene's pamphlets was printed in 1583. Between that year and 1591 it is highly probable that the two plays in question were written. I suspect they were produced in 1588 or 1589. We have undoubted proofs that Shakspeare was not above working on the materials of other men. His *Taming of the Shrew*, his *King John*, and other

* The first edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, is said in its title-page to have been acted “By the right honourable the L. of Hunsdon his servants.”

plays, render any arguments on that point unnecessary. Having therefore, probably not long before the year 1592, when Greene wrote his *Dying Exhortation to a Friend*, new-modelled and amplified these two pieces, and produced on the stage what, in the folio edition of his works, are called *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* and having acquired considerable reputation by them, Greene could not conceal the mortification that he felt at his own fame and that of his associate, both of them old and admired play-wrights, being eclipsed by a new *upstart* writer, (for so he calls our great poet,) who had then first, perhaps, attracted the notice of the publick by exhibiting two plays, formed upon old dramas written by them, considerably enlarged and improved. He therefore, in direct terms, charges him with having acted like the crow in the fable, *beautified himself with their feathers*; in other words, with having acquired fame *furtivis coloribus*, by new-modelling a work originally produced by them: and wishing to depreciate our author, he very naturally quotes a line from one of the pieces which Shakspeare had thus *re-written*; a proceeding which the authors of the original plays considered as an invasion both of their literary property and character. This line, with many others, Shakspeare adopted without any alteration. The very term that Greene uses—"to *bombast* out a blank verse," exactly corresponds with what has been now suggested. This new poet, says he, knows as well as any man how to *amplify* and swell out a blank verse. *Bumbast* was a soft stuff of a loose texture, by which garments were rendered more swelling and protuberant.

Several years after the death of Boiardo, Francesco Berni undertook to new-versify Boiardo's poem, entitled *ORLANDO INNAMORATO*. "Berni (as Baretti observes) was not satisfied with merely making the versification of that poem better; he interspersed it with many stanzas of his own, and changed almost all the beginnings of the cantos, introducing each of them with some moral reflection arising from the canto foregoing." What Berni did to Boiardo's poem after the death of its author, and more, I suppose Shakspeare to have done to *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* in the life time of Greene and Peele, their literary parents; and this *Rifacimento* (as the Italians call it) of these two plays I suppose to have been executed by Shakspeare, and exhibited at the Globe or Blackfriars theatre, in the year 1591.

I have said Shakspeare did what Berni did, and more. He did not content himself with writing new beginnings to the acts;

he new-versified, he new-modelled, he transposed many of the parts, and greatly amplified and improved the whole. Several lines, however, and even whole speeches which he thought sufficiently polished, he accepted, and introduced into his own work, without any, or with very slight, alterations.

In the present edition, all those lines which he adopted without any alteration, are printed in the usual manner; those speeches which he altered or expanded, are distinguished by inverted commas; and to all the lines entirely composed by himself, asterisks are prefixed. The total number of lines in our author's *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* is SIX THOUSAND AND FORTY-THREE: of these, as I conceive, 1771 lines were written by some author who preceded Shakspeare; 2373 were formed by him on the foundation laid by his predecessors; and 1899 lines were entirely his own composition.

That the reader may have the whole of the subject before him, I shall here transcribe the fourth scene of the fourth Act of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (which happens to be a short one,) together with the corresponding scene in the original play; and also a speech of Queen Margaret, in the fifth Act, with the original speech on which it is formed. The first specimen will serve to show the method taken by Shakspeare, where he only new-polished the language of the old play, rejecting some part of the dialogue, and making some slight additions to the part which he retained; the second is a striking proof of his facility and vigour of composition, which has happily expanded a thought comprised originally in a very short speech, into thirty-seven lines, none of which appear feeble or superfluous.

THE TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARDE DUKE OF YORKE,
&c. Sign. F. 4. edit. 1600.

Enter the Queene, and the Lord Rivers.

Riv. Tell me, good madam,
Why is your grace so passionate of late.

Queene. Why, brother Rivers, heare you not the news
Of that success king Edward had of late?

Riv. What? losse of some pitcht battaile against Warwick?
Tush; fear not, fair queen, but cast these cares aside.
King Edwards noble minde his honours doth display;
And Warwicke may lose, though then he got the day.

Queene. If that were all, my grieves were at an end;
But greater troubles will, I feare, befall.

Riv. What? is he taken prisoner by the foe,
To the danger of his royal person then?

Queene. I, there's my griefe ; king Edward is surprisde,
And led away as prisoner unto Yorke.

Riv. The newes is passing strange, I must confesse ;
Yet comfort yourselfe, for Edward hath more friends
Than Lancaster at this time must perceive,—
That some will set him in his throne againe.

Queene. God grant they may ! but gentle brother, come,
And let me leane upon thine arm a while,
Until I come unto the sanctuarie ;
There to preserve the fruit within my womb,
King Edwards seed, true heir to Englands crowne. [Exeunt.]

KING HENRY VI. PART III. ACT IV. SCENE IV.

Enter the QUEEN and RIVERS.

Riv. Madam, what makes you in this sudden change ?

Queen. Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn,
What late misfortune is befall'n king Edward ?

Riv. What, loss of some pitch'd battle against Warwick ?

Queen. No, but the loss of his own royal person.

Riv. Then is my sovereign slain ?

Queen. Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner :
Either betray'd by falsehood of his guard,
Or by his foe surpriz'd at unawares :
And, as I further have to understand,
Is new committed to the bishop of York,
Fell Warwick's brother, and by that our foe.

Riv. These news, I must confess, are full of grief :
Yet, gracious madam, bear it as you may ;
Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day.

Queen. Till then, fair hope must hinder life's decay.
And I the rather wean me from despair,
For love of Edward's offspring in my womb :
This is it that makes me bridle passion,
And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross ;
Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,
And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,
Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown
King Edward's fruit, true heir to the English crown.

Riv. But, madam, where is Warwick then become ?

Queen. I am informed, that he comes towards London
To set the crown once more on Henry's head :
Guess thou the rest ; king Edward's friends must down.
But, to prevent the tyrant's violence,
(For trust not him that once hath broken faith,) .

I'll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary,
 To save at least the heir of Edward's right ;
 There shall I rest secure from force, and fraud,
 Come therefore, let us fly, while we may fly ;
 If Warwick take us, we are sure to die.

[*Exeunt.*]

THE TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARDE DUKE OF YORKE,
 &c. Sign. G. 4. edit. 1600.

*Enter the Queene, Prince Edward, Oxford, Somerset, with
 drumme and souldiers.*

Queen. Welcome to England, my loving friends of France ;
 And weleome Somerset and Oxford too.
 Once more have we spread our sailes abroad ;
 And though our tackling be almost consumde,
 And Warwicke as our main-mast overthrowne,
 Yet, warlike lordes, raise you that sturdie post,
 That bears the sailes to bring us unto rest ;
 And Ned and I, as willing pilots should,
 For once with careful mindes guide on the sterne,
 To bear us thorough that dangerous gulfe,
 That heretofore hath swallowed up our friendes.

KING HENRY VI. PART III. ACT V. SCENE IV.

*March. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD,
 SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers.*

Q. Mar. Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,
 But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
 What though the mast be now blown over-board,
 The cable broke, the holding anchor lost,
 And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood ?
 Yet lives our pilot still : Is't meet, that he
 Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,
 With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
 And give more strength to that which hath too much ;
 Whiles, in his moan, the ship splits on the rock,
 Which industry and courage might have sav'd ?
 Ah, what a shame ! ah, what a fault were this !
 Say, Warwick was our anchor ; What of that ?
 And Montague our top-mast ; What of him ?
 Our slaughter'd friends the tackles ; What of these ?
 Why, is not Oxford here another anchor ?

DISSERTATION ON

And Somerset another goodly mast ?
 The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings ?
 And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I
 For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge ?
 We will not from the helm, to sit and weep ;
 But keep our course, though the rough wind say—no,
 From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck.
 As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair.
 And what is Edward, but a ruthless sea ?
 What Clarence, but a quick-sand of deceit ?
 And Richard, but a ragged fatal rock ?
 All these the enemies to our poor bark.
 Say, you can swim ; alas, 'tis but a while :
 Tread on the sand ; why, there you quickly sink :
 Bestride the rock ; the tide will wash you off,
 Or else you famish, that's a threefold death.
 This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
 In case some one of you would fly from us,
 That there's no hop'd for mercy with the brothers,
 More than with ruthless waves, with sands, and rocks.
 Why, courage, then ! what cannot be avoided,
 'Twere childish weakness to lament, or fear.*

If the reader wishes to compare *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses, &c.* with *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* which was formed upon it, he will find various passages quoted from the elder drama in the notes on that play. The two celebrated scenes, in which the dead body of the Duke of Gloster is described, and the death of Cardinal Beaufort is represented, may be worth examining with this view ; and will sufficiently ascertain how our author proceeded in new-modelling that play ; with what expression, animation, and splendour of colouring, he filled up the outline that had been sketched by a preceding writer.†

Shakspeare having thus given celebrity to these two old dramas, by altering and writing several parts of them over again, the bookseller, Millington, in 1593-4, to avail himself of the popularity of the new and admired poet, got, perhaps from Peele, who was then living, or from the author, whoever he was, or from some of the comedians belonging to the Earl of Pembroke,

* Compare also the account of the death of the Duke of York (p. 50) and King Henry's soliloquy (p. 79) with the old play as quoted in the notes.—Sometimes our author new-versified the old, without the addition of any new, matter. See p. 152, n. 7.

† See Vol. XIII. p. 289, n. 6 ; and p. 304, n. 8. Compare also Clifford's speech to the rebels in p. 354, Buckingham's address to King Henry in p. 284, and Iden's speech in p. 363, with the old play, as quoted in the notes.

the *original* play on which *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* was founded; and entered it on the Stationers' books, certainly with an intention to publish it. Why it did not then appear, cannot be now ascertained. But both that, and the other piece on which *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* was formed, was printed by the same bookseller in 1600, either with a view to lead the common reader to suppose that he should purchase two plays *as altered* and new-modelled by Shakspeare, or, without any such fraudulent intention, to derive a profit from the exhibition of a work that so great a writer had thought proper to retouch, and form into those dramas which for several years before 1600 had without doubt been performed with considerable applause. In the same manner *The old Taming of a Shrew*, on which our author formed a play, had been entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and was printed in 1607,* without doubt with a view to pass it on the publick as the production of Shakspeare.

When William Pavier republished *The Contention of the Two Houses*, &c. in 1619,† he omitted the words in the original title-page,—“*as it was acted by the earl of Pembroke his servantes*;”—just as, on the republication of *King John* in two parts, in 1611, the words,—“*as it was acted in the honourable city of London*,”—were omitted; because the omitted words in both cases marked the respective pieces not to be the production of Shakspeare.‡ And as in *King John* the letters *W. Sh.* were added in 1611 to deceive the purchaser, so in the republication of *The Whole Contention* &c. Pavier, having dismissed the words above mentioned, inserted these: “*Newly CORRECTED and ENLARGED by William Shakspeare*;” knowing that these pieces had been made the ground work of two other plays; that they had in fact been *corrected* and *enlarged*, (though not in that copy which Pavier printed, which is a mere republication from the edition of 1600,) and exhibited under the titles of *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*; and hoping that this new edition of the *original* plays would pass for those *altered* and *augmented* by Shakspeare, which were then unpublished.

If Shakspeare had originally written these three plays of *King Henry VI.* would they not probably have been found by the book-

* Also, as it has lately been discovered, by Cuthbert Burbie, in 1596. REED.

† Pavier's edition has no date, but it is ascertained to have been printed in 1619, by the signatures; the *last* of which is Q. The play of *Pericles* was printed in 1619, for the same bookseller, and its *first* signature is R. The undated copy, therefore, of *The Whole Contention* &c. and *Pericles*, must have been printed at the same time.

‡ See *An Attempt to ascertain the Order of Shakspeare's Plays*, Vol. II. article, *King John*.

seller in the same MS ? Would not the three parts have been procured, whether surreptitiously or otherwise, *all together*? Would they not in that MS. have borne the titles of *The First and Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*? And would not the bookseller have entered them on the Stationers' books, and published such of them as he did publish, under those titles, and *with the name of Shakspeare*? On the other hand, if that which is now distinguished by the name of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* but which I suppose in those times was only called "*The Historical Play of King Henry VI.*" if this was the production of some old dramatist, if it had appeared on the stage some years before 1591, (as from Nashe's mention of it seems to be implied,) perhaps in 1587 or 1588, if its popularity was in 1594 in its wane, and the attention of the publick was entirely taken up by Shakspeare's alteration of two other plays which had likewise appeared before 1591, would not the superior popularity of these two pieces, altered by such a poet, attract the notice of the booksellers? and finding themselves unable to procure them from the theatre, would they not gladly seize on the *originals* on which this new and admired writer had worked, and publish them as soon as they could, neglecting entirely the preceding old play, or *First Part of King Henry VI.* (as it is now called,) which Shakspeare had not embellished with his pen?—Such, as we have seen, was actually the process; for Thomas Millington, neglecting entirely *The First Part of King Henry VI.* entered the *ORIGINAL* of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* at Stationers' Hall in 1593-4, and published the *ORIGINALS* of both that and *The Third Part* in 1600. When Heminge and Condell printed these three pieces in folio, they were necessarily obliged to name the old play of *King Henry VI.* the *first part*, to distinguish it from the two following historical dramas, founded on a later period of the same king's reign.

Having examined such external evidence as time has left us concerning these two plays, now denominated *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* let us see whether we cannot by internal marks ascertain how far Shakspeare was concerned in their composition.

It has long been a received opinion that the two quarto plays, one of which was published under the title of *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and the other under the title of *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* were spurious and imperfect copies of Shakspeare's *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*; and many passages have been quoted in the notes to the late editions of Shakspeare, as containing merely the various readings of the quartos and the folio: the passages being supposed to be in sub-

stance the same, only variously exhibited in different copies. The variations have been accounted for, by supposing that the imperfect and spurious copies (as they were called) were taken down either by an unskilful short-hand writer, or by some auditor who picked up "during the representation what the time would permit, then filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and when he had by this method formed something like a play, sent it to the printer." To this opinion, I with others for a long time subscribed: two of Heywood's pieces furnishing indubitable proofs that plays in the time of our author were sometimes imperfectly copied during the representation, by the ear, or by short-hand writers.* But a minute examination of the two pieces in question, and a careful comparison of them with Shakspeare's *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* have convinced me that this could not have been the case with respect to them. No fraudulent copyist or short-hand writer would invent circumstances *totally different* from those which appear in Shakspeare's new-modelled draughts as exhibited in the first folio; or insert *whole speeches*, of which scarcely a trace is found in that edition. In the course of the foregoing notes many of these have been particularly pointed out. I shall now bring into one point of view all those internal circumstances which prove in my apprehension decisively, that the quarto plays were not spurious and imperfect copies of Shakspeare's pieces, but elder dramas on which he formed his *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

1. In some places a speech in one of these quartos consists of ten or twelve lines. In Shakspeare's folio the same speech consists of perhaps only half the number.† A copyist by the ear, or an unskilful short-hand writer, might mutilate and exhibit a poet's thoughts or expressions imperfectly; but would he dilate and amplify them, or introduce totally new matter? Assuredly he would not.

2. Some circumstances are mentioned in the old quarto plays, of which there is not the least trace in the folio; and many minute variations are found between them and the folio, that prove the pieces in quarto to have been original and distinct compositions.

In the last Act of *The First Part of the Contention*, &c. the Duke of Buckingham after the battle of Saint Albans, is brought in wounded, and carried to his tent; but in Shakspeare's play he is not introduced on the stage after that battle.

* See p. 214.

† See Vol. XIII. p. 202, n. 7; p. 236, n. 4; p. 373, n. 3;—also p. 149, n. 3; p. 176, n. 3, of the present volume.

In one of the *original* scenes between Jack Cade and his followers, which Shakspeare has made the seventh scene of the fourth Act of his *Second Part of King Henry VI.* Dick Butcher drags a serjeant, that is, a catch-pole, on the stage, and a dialogue consisting of seventeen lines passes between Cade, &c. at the conclusion of which it is determined that the serjeant shall be “brain’d with his own mace.” Of this not one word appears in our author’s play.* In the same piece Jack Cade, hearing that a knight, called Sir Humphrey Stafford, was coming at the head of an army against him, to put himself on a par with him makes himself a knight; and finding that Stafford’s brother was also a knight, he dubs Dick Butcher also. But in Shakspeare’s play the latter circumstance is omitted.

In the old play Somerset goes out immediately after he is appointed regent of France. In Shakspeare’s *Second Part of King Henry VI.* he continues on the stage with Henry to the end of the scene, (Act I. sc. iii.) and the King addresses him as they go out.

In the old play, the Duchess of Gloster enters with Hume, Bolingbroke, and Margery Jourdain, and after some conversation with them, tells them that while they perform their rites, she will go to the top of an adjoining tower, and there write down such answers as the spirits, that they are to raise, shall give to her questions. But in Shakspeare’s play, Hume, *Southwell*, (who is not introduced in the elder drama) and Bolingbroke, &c. enter without the Duchess; and after some conversation the Duchess appears above, (that is, on the tower,) and encourages them to proceed.†

In Shakspeare’s play, when the Duke of York enters, and finds the Duchess of Gloster, &c. and her co-adjudors performing their magick rites, (Vol. XIII. p. 221,) the Duke seizes the paper in which the answers of the spirit to certain questions are written down, and reads them aloud. In the old play the answers are not here recited by York; but in a subsequent scene Buckingham reads them to the King; (see p. 221, n. 7; and p. 234, n. 1,) and this is one of the many transpositions that Shakspeare made in new-modelling these pieces, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter.

In the old play, when the King pronounces sentence on the Duchess of Gloster, he particularly mentions the mode of her penance; and the sentence is pronounced in prose: “Stand forth dame Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloster, and hear the sentence pronounced against thee for these treasons that thou hast

* See Vol. XIII. p. 352, n. 4; and *The First Part of the Contention* &c. 1600, sign. G 3.

† See Vol. XIII. p. 216, n. 8.

committed against us, our state and peers. First, for thy haynous crimes thou shalt two daies in London do penance *barefoot in the streets, with a white sheete about thy bodie, and a wax taper burning in thy hand*: that done, thou shalt be banished for ever into the Isle of Man, there to end thy wretched daies; and this is our sentence irrevocable.—Away with her.” But in Shakspeare’s play, (p. 243,) the King pronounces sentence in *verse* against the Duchess and her confederates at the same time; and only says in general, that “after three days open penance, she shall be banished to the Isle of Man.”

In Shakspeare’s play, (p. 274,) when the Duke of York undertakes to subdue the Irish rebels, if he be furnished with a sufficient army, *Suffolk* says, that he “will see that charge performed.” But in the old play the Queen enjoins the *Duke of Buckingham* to attend to this business, and he accepts the office.

In our author’s play Jack Cade is described as a *clothier*, in the old play he is “the *dyer of Ashford*.” In the same piece, when the King and Somerset appear at Kenelworth, a dialogue passes between them and the Queen, of which not one word is preserved in the corresponding scene in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 357.) In the old play, Buckingham states to the King the grounds on which York had taken up arms; but in Shakspeare’s piece, (p. 373,) York himself assigns his reasons for his conduct.

In the old play near the conclusion, young Clifford when he is preparing to carry off the dead body of his father, is assaulted by Richard, and after putting him to flight, he makes a speech consisting of four lines. But in Shakspeare’s play, (p. 389,) there is no combat between them, nor is Richard introduced in that scene. The four lines therefore above mentioned are necessarily omitted.

In the old play the Queen drops her glove, and finding the Duchess of Gloster makes no attempt to take it up, she gives her a box on the ear:

“ Give me my glove; why, minion, can you not see?”
But in Shakspeare’s play, (p. 210,) the Queen drops not a glove, but a *fan*:

“ Give me my fan: What, minion, can you not?”

In Shakspeare’s *Second Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 311,) Suffolk discovers himself to the Captain who had seized him, by showing his *George*. In the old play he announces his quality by a *ring*, a seal-ring we may suppose, exhibiting his arms. In the same scene of Shakspeare’s play, he observes that the Captain threatens more—

“ Than *Bargulus*, the strong *Illyrian pyrate*.”
But in the elder drama Suffolk says, he—

“ Threatens more plagues than mighty *Abradas*,
 “ The great *Macedonian pirate*.”

In the same scene of the original play the Captain threatens to sink Suffolk's ship ; but no such menace is found in Shakespeare's play.

In *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* Richard (afterwards Duke of Gloster,) informs Warwick that his *father* the Earl of Salisbury was killed in an action which he describes, and which in fact took place at Ferrybridge in Yorkshire. But Shakspeare in his *Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 73,) formed upon the piece above mentioned, has rightly deviated from it, and for *father* substituted *brother*, it being the natural brother of Warwick, (the bastard son of Salisbury,) that fell at Ferrybridge. The Earl of Salisbury, Warwick's father, was beheaded at Pomfret.

In the same old play a son is introduced who has killed his father, and afterwards a father who has killed his son. King Henry, who is on the stage, says not a word till they have both appeared, and spoken ; he then pronounces a speech of seven lines. But in Shakspeare's play (p. 85,) this speech is enlarged, and two speeches formed on it ; the first of which the King speaks after the son has appeared, and the other after the entry of the father.

In our author's play, (p. 134,) after Edward's marriage with Lady Grey, his brothers enter, and converse on that event. The King, Queen, &c. then join them, and Edward asks Clarence how he approves his choice. In the elder play there is no previous dialogue between Gloster and Clarence ; but the scene opens with the entry of the King, &c. who desires the opinion of his brothers on his recent marriage.

In our author's play (p. 116,) the following line is found :

“ And set the *murderous Machiavel* to school.”

This line in *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* stood thus :

“ And set the *aspiring Catiline* to school.”

Catiline was the person that would naturally occur to Peele or Greene, as the most splendid *classical* example of inordinate ambition ; but Shakspeare, who was more conversant with English books, substituted Machiavel, whose name was in such frequent use in his time that it became a specifick term for a consummate politician,* and accordingly he makes his host in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, when he means to boast of his own shrewdness, exclaim, “ Am I subtle ? am I a *Machiavel*? ”

Many other variations beside those already mentioned might

* See Vol. XIII. p. 169, n. 7.

be pointed out ; but that I may not weary the reader, I will only refer in a note to the most striking diversities that are found between Shakspeare's *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* and the elder dramas printed in quarto.*

The supposition of imperfect or spurious copies cannot account for such numerous variations in the *circumstances* of these pieces ; (not to insist at present on the *language* in which they are clothed;) so that we are compelled (as I have already observed) to maintain, either that Shakspeare wrote *two* plays on the story which forms his *Second Part of King Henry VI.* a hasty sketch, and an entirely distinct and more finished performance ; or else we must acknowledge that he formed that piece on a foundation laid by another writer, that is, upon the quarto copy of *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.*—and the same argument precisely applies to *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* which is founded on *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* printed in quarto, 1600.

Let us now advert to the *Resemblances* that are found in these pieces as exhibited in the folio, to passages in our author's undisputed plays ; and also to the *Inconsistencies* that may be traced between them ; and, if I do not deceive myself, both the one and the other will add considerable support to the foregoing observations.

In our author's genuine plays, he frequently borrows from himself, the same thoughts being found in nearly the same expressions in different pieces. In *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* as in other dramas, these coincidences with his other works may be found ;† and this was one of the circumstances that once weighed much in my mind, and convinced me of their authenticity. But a collation of these plays with the old pieces on which they are founded, has shewn me the fallacy by which I was deceived : for the passages of these two parts of *King Henry VI.* which correspond with others in our author's undisputed plays, exist *only* in the *folio* copy, and not in the *quarto* ; in other words, in those parts of these new-modelled

* See *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* p. 202, n. 7 ; p. 214, n. 6 ; p. 217, n. 1 ; p. 220, n. 6 ; p. 242, n. 3 ; p. 265, n. 1 ; p. 272, n. 5 ; p. 277, n. 5 ; p. 309, n. 8 ; p. 311, n. 2 ; p. 317, n. 3 ; p. 352, n. 5 ; p. 358, n. 4 ; p. 373, n. 2 and 3 ; p. 394, n. 1.—*Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 10, n. 9 ; p. 13, n. 5 ; p. 16, n. 2 ; p. 23, n. 6 ; p. 25, n. 9 ; p. 27, n. 2 ; p. 64, n. 2 ; p. 73, n. 3 ; p. 77, n. 1 ; p. 83, n. 4 ; p. 117, n. 5 ; p. 123, n. 5 ; p. 134, n. 8 ; p. 142, n. 7 ; p. 143, n. 8 and 9 ; p. 146, n. 6 ; p. 149, n. 3 ; p. 165, n. 3 ; p. 184, n. 3.

† See *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* p. 187, n. 6 ; p. 207, n. 3 ; p. 299, n. 5 ; p. 306, n. 2 ; p. 320, n. 6 ; p. 353, n. 5 ; p. 395, n. 4.—*Third Part,* p. 80, n. 6 ; p. 100, n. 6 ; p. 188, n. 9 ; p. 193, n. 2.

pieces, which were of Shakspeare's writing, and not in the originals by another hand, on which he worked. This, I believe, will be found invariably the case, except in three instances.

The first is, " You have no children, butchers ;" which is, it must be acknowledged, in *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* 1600; (as well as in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*) and is also introduced with a slight variation in *Macbeth*.*

Another instance is found in *King John*. That king, when charged with the death of his nephew, asks—

" Think you, I bear the shears of destiny ?

" Have I commandment on the pulse of life ?"

which bears a striking resemblance to the words of Cardinal Beaufort in *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses, &c.* which Shakspeare has introduced in his *Second Part of King Henry VI.*:

" — Died he not in his bed ?

" Can I make men live whe'r they will or no ?"

The third instance is found in *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* In that piece are the following lines, which Shakspeare adopted with a very slight variation, and inserted in his *Third Part of King Henry VI.* :

" — doves will peck in rescue of their brood.—

" Unreasonable creatures feed their young ;

" And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,

" Yet, in protection of their tender ones,

" Who hath not seen them even with those same wings

" Which they have sometimes used in fearful flight,

" Make war with him that climb'd unto their nest,

" Offering their own lives in their young's defence ?"

So, in our author's *Macbeth* :

" — the poor wren—

" The most diminutive of birds, will fight,

" Her young ones in the nest, against the owl."

But whoever recollects the various thoughts that Shakspeare has borrowed from preceding writers, will not be surprized that in a similar situation, in *Macbeth*, and *King John*, he should have used the expressions of an old dramatist, with whose writings he had been particularly conversant; expressions too, which he had before embodied in former plays : nor can, I think, these three instances much diminish the force of the foregoing observation. That it may have its full weight, I have in the present edition distinguished by asterisks all the lines in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* of which there is no trace in the

* See p. 197 of this volume, and Vol. X. 249, n. 7.

the old quarto plays, and which therefore I suppose to have been written by Shakspeare. Though this has not been effected without much trouble, yet, if it shall tend to settle this long-agitated question, I shall not consider my labour as wholly thrown away.

Perhaps a similar coincidence in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* may be urged in opposition to my hypothesis relative to that play. "Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire," are in that piece called the attendants on the brave Lord Talbot; as, in Shakspeare's *King Henry V.* "famine, sword, and fire, are leash'd in like hounds, crouching under the martial Henry for employment." If this image had proceeded from our author's imagination, this coincidence might perhaps countenance the supposition that he had some hand at least in that scene of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* where these attendants on war are personified. But that is not the case; for the fact is, that Shakspeare was furnished with this imagery by a passage in Holinshed, as the author of the old play of *King Henry VI.* was by Hall's Chronicle: "The Goddesse of warre, called Bellonas—hath these three hand-maides ever of necessitie attenyng on her, *bloud, fyre, and famine.**"

In our present inquiry, it is undoubtedly a very striking circumstance that *almost* all the passages in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* which resemble others in Shakspeare's undisputed plays, are not found in the original pieces in quarto, but in his *Rifacimento* published in folio. As these *Resemblances* to his other plays, and a peculiar Shakspearian phraseology, ascertain a *considerable portion* of these disputed dramas to be the production of Shakspeare, so on the other hand certain passages which are *discordant* (in matters of fact) from his other plays, are proved by this *discordancy*, not to have been composed by him; and these discordant passages, being found in the original quarto plays, prove that those pieces were composed by another writer.

Thus, in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 105,) Sir John Grey is said to have lost "his life in quarrel of the house of York;" and King Edward stating the claim of his widow, whom he afterwards married, mentions, that his lands after the battle of Saint Albans, (February 17, 1460-1,) "were seized on by the conqueror." Whereas, in fact, they were seized on by Edward himself after the battle of Towton, (in which he was conqueror,) March 29, 1461. The conqueror at the second battle of Saint Albans, the battle here meant, was Queen Margaret. This statement was taken from the old quarto play; and, from carelessness was adopted by Shakspeare without any material alteration. But at a subsequent period when he wrote his

* Hall's *Chron. Henry VI.* fol. xxix.

King Richard III. he was under a necessity of carefully examining the English chronicles; and in that play, Act I. sc. iii. he has represented this matter truly as it was :

“ In all which time, you, and your husband Grey,

“ Were factious for the house of Lancaster ;—

“ (And, Rivers, so were you ;)—Was not your husband

“ In Margaret’s battle at Saint Albans slain ?”

It is called “ Margaret’s battle,” because she was there victorious.

An equally decisive circumstance is furnished by the same play. In *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 131,) Warwick proposes to marry his *eldest* daughter (*Isabella*) to Edward Prince of Wales, and the proposal is accepted by Edward ; and in a subsequent scene Clarence says, he will marry the *younger* daughter (*Anne*). In these particulars Shakspeare has implicitly followed the elder drama. But the fact is, that the Prince of Wales married Anne the *younger* daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence married the *elder*, Isabella. Though the author of *The true Tragedie of the Duke of Yorke*, &c. was here inaccurate, and though Shakspeare too negligently followed his steps,—when he wrote his *King Richard III.* he had gained better information; for there Lady ANNE is rightly represented as the widow of the Prince of Wales, and the *youngest* daughter of the Earl of Warwick :

“ Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,

“ And leave the world to me to bustle in.

“ For then I’ll marry Warwick’s *youngest* daughter ;

“ What though 1 kill’d her husband, and her father,” &c.
i. e. Edward Prince of Wales, and King Henry VI.

King Richard III. Act I. sc. i.

I have said that certain passages in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* are ascertained to be Shakspeare’s by a peculiar phraseology. This peculiar phraseology, without a single exception, distinguishes such parts of these plays as are found in the folio, and not in the *elder* quarto dramas, of which the phraseology, as well as the versification, is of a different colour. This observation applies not only to the new original matter produced by Shakspeare, but to his alteration of the old. Our author in his undoubted compositions has fallen into an inaccuracy, of which I do not recollect a similar instance in the works of any other dramatist. When he has occasion to quote the same paper twice, (not from memory, but *verbatim*,) from negligence he does not always attend to the words of the paper which he has occasion to quote, but makes one of the persons of the drama recite them with variations, though he holds the very paper

quoted before his eyes. Thus, in *All's well that ends well*, Act V. sc. iii. Helena says :

“ — here's your letter ; This it says :

“ *When from my finger you can get this ring,*

“ *And are by me with child,*”—

Yet, as I have observed in Vol. V. p. 327, n. 6. Helena in Act III. sc. ii. reads this very letter aloud, and there the words are different, and in plain prose : “ When thou canst get the ring from my finger, which never shall come off, and show me a child begotten of thy body,” &c. In like manner, in the first scene of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* Suffolk presents to the Duke of Gloster, protector of the realm, the articles of peace concluded between France and England. The protector begins to read the articles, but when he has proceeded no further than these words, — “ Item, that the *dutchy* of Anjou and the *county* of Maine shall be released and delivered to the king her father,” — he is suddenly taken ill, and rendered incapable of proceeding : on which the Bishop of Winchester is called upon to read the remainder of the paper. He accordingly reads the whole of the article, of which the Duke of Gloster had only read a part : “ Item, *It is further agreed between them*, that the *dutchies of Anjou and Maine* shall be released and delivered *over* to the king her father, and she sent,” &c. Now though Maine in our old chronicles is sometimes called a county, and sometimes a dutchy, yet words cannot thus change their form under the eyes of two readers : nor do they in the original play, entitled, *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses*, &c. for there the article as recited by the protector corresponds with that recited by the Bishop, without the most minute variation. “ Item, It is further agreed between them, that the *dutchies of Anjou and of Maine* shall be released and delivered *over* to the king her father, and she sent,” &c. Thus in the old play says the Duke, and so says the Cardinal after him. This one circumstance, in my apprehension, is of such weight, that though it stood alone, it might decide the present question. Our author has fallen into a similar inaccuracy in the fourth scene of the same Act, where the Duke of York recites from a paper the questions that had been put to the Spirit, relative to the Duke of Suffolk, Somerset, &c.*

Many minute marks of Shakspeare's hand may be traced in such parts of the old plays as he has new-modelled. I at present recollect one that must strike every reader who is conversant with his writings. He very frequently uses adjectives adverbially ; and this kind of phraseology, if not peculiar to him, is found more frequently in his writings than those of any of his contem-

* See Vol. XIII. p. 222, n. 8.

poraries. Thus—"I am myself *indifferent honest*;"—"as *dishonourable* ragged as an old faced ancient;"—"equal ravenous;"—"leaves them *invisible*;" &c.* In *The true Tragedie of the Duke of Yorke*, &c. the King, having determined to marry Lady Grey, enjoins his brothers to use her *honourably*. But in Shakspeare's play the words are,—“use her *honourable*.” So, in *Julius Cæsar*:

“Young man, thou could’st not die more *honourable*.”

In like manner, in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* we find this line:

“Is either slain, or wounded *dangerous*.”

but in the old play the words are—“wounded *dangerously*.”

In the same play the word *handkerchief* is used; but in the corresponding scene in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 51,) Shakspeare has substituted the northern term *napkin*, which occurs so often in his works, in its room.†

The next circumstance to which I wish to call the attention of those who do not think the present investigation wholly incurious, is, the *Transpositions* that are found in these plays. In the preceding notes I have frequently observed that not only several lines, but sometimes whole scenes,‡ were transposed by Shakspeare.

In p. 50, 51, a Messenger, giving an account of the death of the Duke of York, says:

“Environed he was with many foes;

“And stood against them, as the hope of Troy

“Against the Greeks, that would have enter’d Troy.

“But Hercules himself must yield to odds;”—

When this passage was printed, not finding any trace of the last three lines in the corresponding part of the old play, I marked them inadvertently as Shakspeare's original composition; but I afterwards found that he had borrowed them from a subsequent scene on a quite different subject, in which Henry, taking leave of Warwick, says to him—

“Farewell my Hector, and *my Troy’s true hope!*”

and the last line, “But Hercules,” &c. is spoken by Warwick near the conclusion of the piece, after he is mortally wounded in the battle of Barnet.

So, in *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. after the Duke has slain Clifford, he says—

“Now, Lancaster, sit sure:—thy sinews shrink.”

Shakspeare has not made use of that line in that place, but

* See Vol. VIII. p. 551, n. 5; and p. 176, n. 6; Vol. VI. p. 318, n. 9.

† In *Othello* both the words—*napkin*, and *handkerchief*, may be found.

‡ See p. 152, n. 5; p. 160, n. 5; p. 166, n. 4.

availed himself of it afterwards, where Edward brings forth Warwick wounded; *King Henry VI. P. III. Act V. sc. ii.*:

“Now, Montague, sit fast: I seek for thee,” &c.

Many other transpositions may be traced in these plays, to which I shall only refer in a note.*

Such transpositions as I have noticed, could never have arisen from any carelessness or inaccuracy of transcribers or copyists; and therefore are to be added to the many other circumstances which prove that *The Second and Third Parts of K. Henry VI.* as exhibited in the folio, were formed from the materials of a preceding writer.

It is also observable, that many lines are repeated in Shakspeare’s *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*† but no such repetitions are found in the old quarto plays. The repetition undoubtedly arose from Shakspeare’s not always following his original strictly, but introducing expressions which had struck him in other parts of the old plays; and afterwards, forgetting that he had before used such expressions, he suffered them to remain in their original places also.

Another proof that Shakspeare was not the author of *The Contention of the Two Houses*, &c. is furnished by the inconsistencies into which he has fallen, by sometimes adhering to, and sometimes deviating from, his original: an inaccuracy which may be sometimes observed in his undisputed plays.

One of the most remarkable instances of this kind of inconsistency is found in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* p. 336, where he makes Henry say:

“I’ll send some holy bishop to intreat,” &c.

a circumstance which he took from Holinshed’s *Chronicle*; whereas in the old play no mention is made of a bishop on this occasion. The King there says, he will himself come and parley with the rebels, and in the mean time he orders Clifford and Buckingham to gather an army. In a subsequent scene, however, Shakspeare forgot the new matter which he had introduced in the former; and *Clifford* and *Buckingham* only parley with Cade, &c. conformably to the old play.‡

In *Romeo and Juliet* he has fallen into a similar inaccuracy. In the poem on which that tragedy is founded, Romeo, in his interview with the Friar, after sentence of banishment has been

* See Vol. XIII. p. 299, n. 4; p. 327, n. 8; p. 379, n. 3;—and p. 146, n. 6; p. 182, n. 8 and 9; p. 189, n. 1, of the present volume.

† See also p. 79, n. 4; p. 102, n. 2; p. 120, n. 8; p. 126, n. 2.

‡ See Vol. XIII. p. 219, n. 4;—and p. 123, n. 5; p. 126, n. 2, of the present volume.

pronounced against him, is described as passionately lamenting his fate in the following terms :

“ First nature did he blame, *the author of his life,*
 “ In which his joys had been so scant, and sorrows aye
 so rife ;
 “ The time and place of *birth* he fiercely did reprove ;
 “ He cryed out with open mouth against *the stars above.*
 “ On fortune eke he *rail'd*,” &c.

The Friar afterwards reproves him for want of patience. In forming the corresponding scene Shakspeare has omitted Romeo's invective against his fate, but inadvertently copied the Friar's remonstrance *as it lay before him* :

“ Why *rail'st thou on thy birth, the heaven, and earth ?*”

If the following should be considered as a trifling circumstance, let it be remembered, that circumstances which, separately considered, may appear unimportant, sometimes acquire strength, when united to other proofs of more efficacy : in my opinion, however, what I shall now mention is a circumstance of considerable weight. It is observable that the priest concerned with Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, in certain pretended operations of magick, for which she was tried, is called by Hall, *John Hum.* So is he named in *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke*, &c. the original, as I suppose, of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* Our author probably thinking the name harsh or ridiculous, softened it to *Hume* ; and by that name this priest is called in *his* play printed in folio. But in Holinshed he is named *Hun* ; and so undoubtedly, or perhaps for softness, *Hune*, he would have been called in the original quarto play just mentioned, if Shakspeare had been the author of it ; for Holinshed and not Hall was his guide, as I have shown uncontestedly in a note on *King Henry V.* Vol. XII. p. 292. But Hall was undoubtedly the historian who had been consulted by the original writer of *The Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster* ; as appears from his having taken a line from thence, “ That *Alexander Iden, an esquire of Kent*, * ” and from the scene in which Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited on his death-bed. One part of the particular description of the Cardinal's death and dying words, in the old quarto play, is founded on a passage in Hall, which Holinshed, though in general a servile copyist of the former chronicler, has omitted. The passage is this : “ Dr. John Baker, his pryvie counsailer and hys chapellayn, wrote, that lying on his death-bed he [Cardinal Beaufort] said these words : ‘ Why should I dye, havynge so much ryches ? If

* See Hall, *Henry V.* fol. lxxix. Holinshed says, “ a gentleman of Kent, named Alexander Iden, awaited so his time,” &c.

the whole realme would save my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by riches to bye it. Fye ! will not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng ?” From this the writer of the old play formed these lines :

“ O death, if thou wilt let me live
“ But one whole year, I’ll give thee as much gold
“ As will purchase such another island.”

which Shakspeare new-modelled thus :

“ If thou be’st death, I’ll give thee England’s treasure,
“ Enough to purchase such another island,
“ So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.”

If Shakspeare had been the author of *The First Part of the Contention*, &c. finding in his Holinshed the name *Hun*, he would either have preserved it, or softened it to *Hune*. Working on the old play, where he found the name of *Hum*, which sounded ridiculous to his ear, he changed it to *Hume*. But whoever the original writer of the old play was, having used the name of *Hum*, he must have formed his play on Hall’s Chronicle, where *alone* that name is found. Shakspeare therefore having made Holinshed, and not Hall, his guide, could not have been the writer of it.

It may be remarked, that by the alteration of this priest’s name, he has destroyed a rhyme intended by the author of the original play, where Sir John begins a soliloquy with this jingling line :

“ Now, Sir John *Hum*, no word but *mum*:
“ Seal up your lips, for you must silent be.”

which Shakspeare has altered thus :

“ — But how now, Sir John *Hume*?
“ Seal up your lips, and give no words but *mum*.”

Lines rhyming in the middle and end, similar to that above quoted, are often found in our old English plays, (previous to the time of Shakspeare,) and are generally put into the mouths of priests and friars.

It has already been observed, that in the original play on which *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* is founded, “ *Abradas, the Macedonian pirate*,” is mentioned. This hero does not appear in Shakspeare’s new-modelled play, “ *Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate*,” being introduced in his room. *Abradas* is spoken of (as Mr. Steevens has remarked) by Robert Greene, the very person whom I suppose to have been one of the joint authors of the original plays, in a pamphlet, entitled, *Penelope’s Web*, 1589 :—“ *Abradas, the great Macedonean pirate*, thought every one had a letter of mart that bare sayles in the ocean.” Of this pirate or his achievements, however celebrated he may

have been, I have not found the slightest trace in *any book* whatsoever, except that above quoted: a singular circumstance, which appears to me strongly to confirm my hypothesis on the present subject; and to support my interpretation of Greene's words in his *Groatsworth of Witte*, in a former part of the present disquisition.

However this may be, there are certainly very good grounds for believing that *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of York and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, were written by the author or authors of the old *King John*, printed in 1591.

In *The true Tragedie &c.* we find the following lines:

“Let England be true within itself,

“We need not France, nor any alliance with her.”

The first of these lines is found, with a very minute variation, in the old *King John*, where it runs thus:

“Let England live but true within itself,—.”

Nor is this the only coincidence. In the deservedly admired scene in which Cardinal Beaufort's death is represented, in the original play, (as well as in Shakspeare's *Second Part of King Henry VI.*) he is called upon to hold up his hand, as a proof of his confidence in God:

“Lord Cardinal,

“If thou diest assured of heavenly blisse,

“Hold up thy hand, and make some sign to us.

[*The Cardinal dies.*

“O see, he dies, and makes no sign at all :

“O God, forgive his soule !”

I quote from the original play.—It is remarkable that a similar proof is demanded in the old play of *King John* also, when that king is expiring:

“Then, good my lord, if you forgive them all,

“Lift up your hand, in token you forgive.”

Again:

“—— in token of thy faith,

“And signe thou diest the servant of the Lord,

“Lift up thy hand, that we may witnesse here

“Thou diest the servant of our Saviour Christ.—

“Now joy betide thy soul !”

This circumstance appears to me to add considerable support to my conjecture.

One point only remains. It may be asked, if *The First Part of King Henry VI.* was not written by Shakspeare, why did Heminge and Condell print it with the rest of his works? The only way that I can account for their having done so, is by supposing, either that their memory at the end of thirty years was not accurate concerning our author's pieces, as appears indeed

evidently from their omitting *Troilus and Cressida*, which was not recollected by them, till the whole of the first folio, and even the table of contents, (which is always the last work of the press,) had been printed ; or, that they imagined the insertion of this historical drama was necessary to understanding the two pieces that follow it ; or lastly, that Shakspeare, for the advantage of his own theatre, having written a few lines in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* after his own *Second* and *Third Part* had been played, they conceived this a sufficient warrant for attributing it, along with the others, to him, in the general collection of his works. If Shakspeare was the author of any part of this play, perhaps the second and the following scenes of the fourth Act were his ; which are for the most part written in rhyme, and appear to me somewhat of a different complexion from the rest of the play. Nor is this the only instance of their proceeding on this ground ; for is it possible to conceive that they could have any other reason for giving *Titus Andronicus* a place in their edition of Shakspeare's works, than his having written twenty or thirty lines in that piece, or having retouched a few verses of it ; if indeed he did so much ?

Shakspeare's referring in the Epilogue to *King Henry V.* which was produced in 1599, to these three parts of *King Henry VI.* of which the first, by whom soever it was written, appears from the testimony of a contemporary to have been exhibited with great applause ;* and the two latter having been, as I conceive, eight years before new-modelled and almost re-written by our author, we may be confident were performed with the most brilliant success ; his supplicating the favour of the audience to his new play of *King Henry V.* "for the sake" of these old and popular dramas, which were so closely connected with it, and in the composition of which, as they had for many years been exhibited, he had so considerable a share ; the connection between the last scene of *King Henry VI.* and the first scene of *King Richard III.* the Shakspearian diction, versification, and figures, by which *The Second and Third Part of K. Henry VI.* are distinguished ; "the easiness of expression and the fluency of numbers," which, it is acknowledged, are found here, and were possessed by no other author of that age ; all these circumstances are accounted for by the theory now stated, and all objections † that have been founded upon them, in my apprehension, vanish away.

On the other hand, the entry on the Stationers' books of the

* See p. 231 of this Dissertation.

† See these several objections stated by Dr. Johnson in the notes at the end of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*

old play, entitled *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* without the name of the author; that piece, and *The true Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, &c.* being printed in 1600, anonymously; their being founded on the Chronicle of *Hall*, who was not Shakspeare's historian, and represented by the servants of Lord Pembroke, by whom none of his uncontested dramas were represented; the colour, diction, and versification of these old plays, the various circumstances, lines and speeches, that are found in them, and not in our author's new-modification of them, as published in folio by his original editor's; the resemblances that have been noticed between his other works and such parts of these dramas as are *only* exhibited in their folio edition; the discordances (in matters of fact) between certain parts of the old plays printed in quarto, and Shakspeare's undoubted performances; the transpositions that he has made in these pieces; the repetitions; and the peculiar Shakspearian inaccuracies, and phraseology, which may be traced in the folio, and not in the old quarto plays; these and other circumstances, which have been stated in the foregoing pages, form, when united, such a body of argument and proofs, in support of my hypothesis, as appears to me, (though I will not venture to assert that "the probation bears no hinge or loop to hang a doubt on,") to lead directly to the door of truth.

It is observable that several portions of the English History had been dramatized before the time of Shakspeare. Thus, we have *King John* in two parts, by an anonymous writer; *Edward I.* by George Peele; *Edward II.* by Christopher Marlowe; *Edward III.* anonymous; *Henry IV.* containing the deposition of *Richard II.* and the accession of *Henry* to the crown, anonymous;* *Henry V.* and *Richard III.* both by anonymous authors.† Is it not then highly probable, that the *whole* of the story of *Henry VI.* had also been brought upon the scene? and that the first of the plays now in question, formerly (as I believe) called *The Historical Play of King Henry VI.* and now named *The First Part of King Henry VI.* as well as *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* (which three pieces comprehend the entire reign of that King from his birth to his death,) were the composition of some of the authors, who had produced the historical dramas above enumerated?

In consequence of an hasty and inconsiderate opinion formed by Mr. Pope, without any minute examination of the subject,

* See the Prolegomena to *King Richard II.* Vol. XI.

† Entered on the Stationers' books in 1594.

King John in two parts, printed in 1591, and *The old Taming of the Shrew*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and printed in 1607, passed for half a century for the composition of Shakspeare. Further inquiries have shown that they were the productions of earlier writers ; and perhaps a more profound investigation of this subject than I have been able to make, may hereafter prove decisively, that the *first* of the three *Henries* printed in folio, and both the parts of *The Whole Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, as exhibited in quarto, and printed in 1600, ought to be classed in the same predicament with the two old plays above mentioned. For my own part, if it should ever be thought proper to reprint the old dramas on which Shakspeare founded some of his plays, which were published in two volumes a few years ago, I have no doubt that *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of the Duke of Yorke, &c.* should be added to the number.

Gildon somewhere says, that “in a conversation between Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, Ben asked him the reason why he wrote his historical plays.” Our author (we are told) replied, that “ finding the nation generally very ignorant of history, he wrote them in order to instruct the people in that particular.” This anecdote, like many other traditional stories, stands on a very weak foundation ; or to speak more justly, it is certainly a fiction. The malignant Ben does indeed, in his *Devil's an Ass*, 1616, sneer at our author's historical pieces, which for twenty years preceding had been in high reputation, and probably were *then* the only historical dramas that had possession of the theatre; but from the list above given, it is clear that Shakspeare was not the *first* who dramatized our old chronicles ; and that the principal events of the English History were familiar to the ears of his audience, before he commenced a writer for the stage :* though undoubtedly

* This point is established not only by the list referred to, but by a passage in a pamphlet already quoted, entitled *Pierce Pennilesse his Suplication to the Devil*, written by Thomas Nashe, quarto, 1592: “ Whereas the afternoone being the eldest time of the day, wherein men that are their own masters (as gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of court, and the number of captaines and soldiers about London) do wholly bestow themselves upon pleasure, and that pleasure they divide (how virtuously it skilles not,) into gaming, following of harlots, drinking, or *seeing a play*; is it not then better, since of foure extremes all the world cannot keepe them but they will choose one, that they should betake them to the last, which is *Playes*? Nay, what if I prove playes to be no extreme, but a rare exercise of vertue? First, for the *subject* of them ; for the most part it is borrowed out of our ENGLISH CHRONICLES, wherein our fore-fathers' valiant actes, that have been long buried in rustie brasse, and worme eaten booke, are revived, and they themselves raised from the grave of oblivion, and brought to plead their aged honours in open presence ;

at this day, whatever knowledge of our annals is dispersed among the people, is derived from the frequent exhibition of our author's historical plays.

He certainly did not consider writing on fables that had already been formed into dramas, as any derogation from his fame; if indeed fame was ever an object of his thoughts. We know that plays on the subjects of *Measure for Measure*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *King John*, *King Richard II*. *King Henry IV*. *King Henry V*. *King Richard III*. *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and, I strongly suspect, on those of *Hamlet*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Julius Cæsar*,* existed before he commenced a dramatick author; and perhaps in process of time it may be found, that many of the fables of his other plays also had been unskilfully treated, and produced upon the stage, by preceding writers.

Such are the only lights that I am able to throw on this very dark subject. The arguments which I have stated have entirely satisfied my own mind; whether they are entitled to bring conviction to the minds of others, I shall not presume to determine. I produce them, however, with the more confidence, as they have the approbation of one who has given such decisive proofs of his taste and knowledge, by ascertaining the extent of *Shakspeare's learning*, that I have no doubt his thoughts on the present question also, will have that weight with the publick to

than which, what can be a sharper reproofe to these degenerate days of ours?"

After an elogium on the brave Lord Talbot, and on the actor who had personated him in a popular play of that time, "before ten thousand spectators at the least;" (which has already been printed in a former page,) and after observing "what a glorious thing it is to have King Henry the Fifth represented on the stage, leading the French king prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin to swear fealty,"—the writer adds these words :

"In playes, all couseenages, all cunning drifts, over-gilded with outward holinesse, all stratagems of warre, all the canker-wormes that breed in the rust of peace, are most lively anatomised. They show the ill successe of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, *the wretched end of usurpers*, *the miserie of civil dissention*, and how just God is evermore in punishing *murder*. And to prove every one of these allegations, could I propound the circumstances of *this play and that*, if I meant to handle this theame otherwise than obiter."

It is highly probable that the words, "*the miserie of civil dissention*," allude to the very plays which are the subjects of the present disquisition, *The First Part of the Contentions of the Two Houses &c.* and *The True Tragedy of Richarde Duke of Yorke*; as, by "*the wretched end of Usurpers*," and the justice of God in "*punishing murder*," old plays on the subject of *King Richard III*. and that of *Hamlet*, prior to those of *Shakspeare*, were, I believe, alluded to.

* See *An Attempt to ascertain the Order of Shakspeare's Plays*, Vol. II.

which they are undoubtedly entitled. It is almost unnecessary to add, that I mean my friend Dr. Farmer ; who many years ago delivered it as his opinion, that these plays were not written *originally* by Shakspeare.* MALONE.

* Mr. Theobald's and Dr. Warburton's idea on which the foregoing Dissertation is founded, had received countenance, from the opinion of Dr. Farmer. Mr. Malone, with much labour and ingenuity, has given support to the sentiments of these gentlemen ; but, in my judgment, if he proves any thing, it is a position hazarded by me long ago ; viz. that our author had as much hand in the present dramas, as in several others that pass under his name ; for, as I observed in Mr. Malone's *Attempt to ascertain &c.* (article, *Macbeth*) "a time may arrive, in which it will become evident, from books and manuscripts yet undiscovered and unexamined, that Shakspeare did not attempt a single play on any subject, till the effect of the same story, or at least the ruling incidents in it, had been tried on the stage, and familiarized to his audience ;"—a conjecture which in some instances has been already confirmed.

Of the first part of these three Histories, however, it is asserted, that in colour of style, &c. it bears no resemblance to the other works of our author. As I think, among the notes on that piece, I have advanced some proofs to the contrary, in this place I shall be content to add, that it as strongly resembles the latter dramas of Shakspeare, as the *Dream of Raphael* resembles his *Transfiguration*. Between the first and last performances of great masters, there is often but a small, if any, degree of resemblance. Sir Joshua Reynolds studied under Hudson, and at first imitated his manner ; but is a trace of the almost forgotten master discoverable in the mature and applauded works of the pupil ?

STEEVENS.

KING RICHARD III.*

* LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD III.] This tragedy, though it is called the Life and Death of this Prince, comprises, at most, but the last eight years of his time; for it opens with George Duke of Clarence being clapped up in the Tower, which happened in the beginning of the year 1477; and closes with the death of Richard at Bosworth field, which battle was fought on the 22d of August, in the year 1485. THEOBALD.

It appears that several dramas on the present subject had been written before Shakspeare attempted it. See the notes at the conclusion of this play, which was first entered at Stationers' Hall by Andrew Wise, Oct. 20, 1597, under the title of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, with the Death of the Duke of Clarence*. Before this, viz. Aug. 15th, 1586, was entered, *A tragical Report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad*. It may be necessary to remark that the words, *song, ballad, enterlude* and *play*, were often synonymously used. STEEVENS.

This play was written, I imagine, in the same year in which it was first printed,—1597. *The Legend of King Richard III.* by Francis Seagars, was printed in the first edition of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1559, and in that of 1575, and 1587, but Shakspeare does not appear to be indebted to it. In a subsequent edition of that book printed in 1610, the old legend was omitted, and a new one inserted, by Richard Niccols, who has very freely copied the play before us. In 1597, when this tragedy was published, Niccols, as Mr. Warton has observed, was but thirteen years old. *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 267.

The real length of time in this piece is fourteen years; (not eight years, as Mr. Theobald supposed:) for the second scene commences with the funeral of King Henry VI. who, according to the received account, was murdered on the 21st of May, 1471. The imprisonment of Clarence, which is represented previously in the first scene, did not in fact take place till 1477-8.

It has been since observed to me by Mr. Elderton, (who is of opinion that Richard was charged with this murder by the Lancastrian historians without any foundation,) that “it appears on the face of the publick accounts allowed in the exchequer for the maintenance of King Henry and his numerous attendants in the Tower, that he lived to the 12th of June, which was twenty-two days after the time assigned for his pretended assassination; was exposed to the publick view in St. Paul's for some days, and interred at Chertsey with much solemnity, and at no inconsiderable expence.” MALONE.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Edward the Fourth.

Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards K. Edward V. } Sons to the King.
Richard, Duke of York, }
George, Duke of Clarence, }
Richard, Duke of Gloster, afterwards King Richard III. } Brothers to the King.

A young Son of Clarence.

Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards K. Henry VII.

Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Rotheram, Archbishop of York. John Morton, Bishop of Ely.

Duke of Buckingham.

Duke of Norfolk: Earl of Surrey, his Son.

Earl Rivers, brother to King Edward's Queen:

Marquis of Dorset, and Lord Grey, her Sons.

Earl of Oxford. Lord Hastings. Lord Stanley.
Lord Lovel.

Sir Thomas Vaughan. Sir Richard Ratcliff.

Sir William Catesby. Sir James Tyrrel.

Sir James Blount. Sir Walter Herbert.

Sir Robert Brakenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower.

Christopher Urswick, a Priest. Another Priest.

Lord Mayor of London. Sheriff of Wiltshire.

Elizabeth, Queen of King Edward IV.

Margaret, Widow of King Henry VI.

Duchess of York, Mother to King Edward IV. Clarence, and Gloster.

Lady Anne, Widow of Edward Prince of Wales, Son to King Henry VI.; afterwards married to the Duke of Gloster.

A young Daughter of Clarence.

Lords, and other Attendants; two Gentlemen, a Pursuivant, Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Ghosts, Soldiers, &c.

SCENE, England.

LIFE AND DEATH
OF
KING RICHARD III.

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *A Street.*

Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Now is the winter of our discontent¹
Made glorious summer by this sun of York ;²

¹ —— *the winter of our discontent* —] Thus, in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*:

“Gone in the *winter of my miserie.*” STEEVENS.

² —— *this sun of York* ;] Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was *a sun*, in memory of the *three suns*, which are said to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross.

So, in Drayton's *Miseries of Queen Margaret* :

“Three *suns* were seen that instant to appear,

“Which soon again shut themselves up in one;

“Ready to buckle as the armies were,

“Which this brave duke took to himself alone :” &c.

Again, in the 22d Song of the *Polyolbion* :

“And thankful to high heaven, which of his cause had care,

“Three *suns* for his device still in his ensign bare.”

Such phænomena, if we may believe tradition, were formerly not uncommon. In the Wrighte's Play in the *Chester Collection*, MS. Harl. 1013, the same circumstance is introduced as attending on a more solemn event :

And all the clouds, that lowr'd upon our house,
 In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
 Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
 Our bruised arms³ hung up for monuments;
 Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
 Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now,—instead of mounting barbed steeds,⁴

“ That day was seene veramente
 “ Three sonnes in the firmament,
 “ And wonderly together went
 “ And torned into one.” STEEVENS.

See p. 48, n. 6. MALONE.

³ Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
 Our bruised arms &c.] So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*:
 “ Made glorious by his manly chivalry,
 “ With bruised arms and wreaths of victory.” MALONE.

⁴ Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
 Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now,—instead of mounting barbed steeds, &c.] So, in
The tragical Life and Death of King Richard the Third, which
 is one of the metrical monologues in a collection entitled, *The Mirrour of Magistrates*. The first edition of it appeared in 1559,
 but the lines quoted on the present as well as future occasions
 throughout this play, are not found in any copy before that of
 1610, so that the author was more probably indebted to Shak-
 speare, than Shakspeare to him:

“ — the battles fought in field before
 “ Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie;
 “ The war-god's thund'ring cannons' dreadful rore,
 “ And rattling drum-sounds' warlike harmonie,
 “ To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstrelsie.
 “ God Mars laid by his launce, and tooke his lute,
 “ And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes;
 “ Instead of crimson fields, warre's fatal fruit,
 “ He bath'd his limbes in Cypris warbling brookes,
 “ And set his thoughts upon her wanton lookes.”

STEEVENS.

Shakspeare seems to have had the following passage from Lylly's

To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,—
He capers⁵ nimbly in a lady's chamber,

Alexander and Campaspe, 1584, before him, when he wrote these lines: “Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turn'd to the soft noise of lyre and lute? The neighing of barbed steeds, whose loudness filled the air with terror, and whose breaths dimmed the sun with smoak, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances?” &c. REED.

— delightful measures.] A measure was, strictly speaking, a court dance of a stately turn, though the word is sometimes employed to express dances in general.

So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“We'll measure them a measure, and be gone.”

See Vol. VII. p. 154, n. 9. STEEVENS.

— barbed steeds,] i. e. steeds caparisoned in a warlike manner. I. Haywarde, in his *Life and Raigne of King Henry IV.* 1599, says,—“The duke of Hereford, came to the barriers, mounted upon a white courser, barbed with blew and green velvet,” &c.

Again, in Jarvis Markham's *English Arcadia*, 1607: “—armed in a black armour, curiously damask'd with interwinding wreaths of cypress and ewe, his barbe upon his horse, all of black abrosetta, cut in broken hoopes upon curled cypress.”

Again, in *The Second Part of King Edward IV.* by Heywood, 1626:

“With barbed horse, and valiant armed foot.”

Barbed, however, may be no more than a corruption of barded. Equus bardatus, in the Latin of the middle ages, was a horse adorned with military trappings. I have met with the word barded many times in our ancient chronicles and romances. An instance or two may suffice. “They mounted him surely upon a good and mighty courser, well barded,” &c.

Hist. of Helyas Knight of the Swanne, bl. l. no date.

Again, in Barrett's *Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580:

“Bardes or trappers of horses.” Phaleræ, Lat.

Again, Holinshed speaking of the preparations for the battle of Agincourt: “— to the intent that if the barded horses ran fiercely upon them,” &c. Again, from p. 802, we learn, that bards and trappers had the same meaning. STEEVENS.

See “A Barbed horse,” and “Bardes,” in Minsheu's DICT. 1617, the latter of which he defines “horse-trappings.”

MALONE.

* He capers—] War capers. This is poetical, though a little

To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
 But I,—that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
 Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass ;
 I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty,
 To strut before a wanton ambling nymph ;
 I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
 Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,⁶
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
 Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
 And that so lamely and unfashionable,
 That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them ;—

harsh ; if it be York that capers, the antecedent is at such a distance, that it is almost forgotten. JOHNSON.

⁶ *Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,]* By *dissembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another : but nature that puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body. WARBURTON.

Dissembling is here put very licentiously for *fraudful, deceitful*. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson hath certainly mistaken, and Dr. Warburton rightly explained the word *dissembling*; as is evident from the following extract: “ Whyle thinges stooode in this case, and that the manner of addyng was sometime too short and sometime too long, els *dissembled* and let slip together.” Arthur Golding’s translation of *Julius Solinus*, 1587. HENLEY.

I once thought that Dr. Johnson’s interpretation was the true one. *Dissimulation* necessarily includes *fraud*, and this might have been sufficient to induce Shakspeare to use the two words as synonymous, though *fraud* certainly may exist without *dissimulation*. But the following lines in the old *King John*, 1591, which our author must have carefully read, were perhaps in his thoughts, and seem rather in favour of Dr. Warburton’s interpretation :

“ Can nature so *dissemble* in her frame,
 “ To make the one so like as like may be,
 “ And in the other print no character
 “ To challenge any mark of true descent ? ”

Feature is used here, as in other pieces of the same age, for *beauty* in general. See note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II. sc. v. MALONE.

Why I, in this weak piping time of peace,
 Have no delight to pass away the time ;
 Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
 And descant on mine own deformity ;⁷
 And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover,⁸
 To entertain these fair well-spoken days,⁹—
 I am determined to prove a villain,
 And hate the idle pleasures¹ of these days.
 Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,²

⁷ *And descant on mine own deformity;*] *Descant* is a term in musick, signifying in general that kind of harmony wherein one part is broken and formed into a kind of paraphrase on the other. The propriety and elegance of the above figure, without such an idea of the nature of *descant*, could not be discerned.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

That this is the original meaning of the term, is certain. But I believe the word is here used in its secondary and colloquial sense, without any reference to musick. MALONE.

⁸ *And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover,*] Shakspeare very diligently inculcates, that the wickedness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that rose at the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake. JOHNSON.

⁹ *To entertain these fair well-spoken days,*] I am strongly inclined to think that the poet wrote—these fair well-spoken *dames*, and that the word *days* was caught by the compositor's eye glancing on a subsequent line. So, in the quarto copy of this play, printed in 1612, Signat. I :

“ I, my lord, but I had rather kill two *deep* enemies.

“ King. Why, there thou hast it; two *deep* enemies.”

In the original copy, printed in 1597, the first line is right : “ — kill two enemies.” MALONE.

¹ *And hate the idle pleasures—*] Perhaps we might read : *And bate the idle pleasures —*. JOHNSON.

² — *inductions dangerous,*] Preparations for mischief. The *induction* is preparatory to the action of the play. JOHNSON.

Marston has put this line, with little variation, into the mouth of Fame :

“ Plots ha' you laid? *inductions dangerous?*”

STEEVENS.

By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,
 To set my brother Clarence, and the king,
 In deadly hate the one against the other :
 And, if king Edward be as true and just,³
 As I am subtle, false, and treacherous,
 This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up ;
 About a prophecy, which says—that G
 Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be.
 Dive, thoughts, down to my soul ! here Clarence
 comes.

Enter CLARENCE, guarded, and BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day : What means this armed guard,
 That waits upon your grace ?

CLAR. His majesty,
 Tendering my person's safety, hath appointed
 This conduct to convey me to the Tower.

GLO. Upon what cause ?

CLAR. Because my name is—George.

GLO. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours ;
 He should, for that, commit your godfathers :—
 O, belike, his majesty hath some intent,
 That you shall be new christen'd in the Tower.
 But what's the matter, Clarence ? may I know ?

CLAR. Yea, Richard, when I know ; for, I protest,
 As yet I do not : But, as I can learn,
 He hearkens after prophecies, and dreams ;*

* — *Edward be as true and just,*] The meaning is, if Edward keeps his word. JOHNSON.

May not this mean—if Edward hold his natural disposition and be true to that ? M. MASON.

* *He hearkens after prophecies, and dreams ;*] From Holin-

And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,
 And says—a wizard told him, that by G
 His issue disinherited should be ;
 And, for my name of George begins with G,⁵
 It follows in his thought, that I am he :
 These, as I learn, and such like toys⁶ as these,
 Have mov'd his highness to commit me now.

Glo. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by women :—

'Tis not the king, that sends you to the Tower ;
 My lady Grey, his wife, Clarence, 'tis she,
 That tempers him to this extremity.⁷

shed : “ Some have reported that the cause of this nobleman's death rose of a foolish prophecie, which was, that after king Edward should reign one whose first letter of his name should be a G ; wherewith the king and the queene were sore troubled, and began to conceive a grievous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end.” Philip de Comines, a contemporary historian, says that the English at that time were never unfurnished with some prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event. MALONE.

⁵ *And, for my name of George begins with G, &c.]* So, in Niccols's *Tragical Life and Death of Richard III* :

“ By that blind riddle of the letter G,

“ George lost his life ; it took effect in me.”

STEEVENS.

⁶ ——*toys*] Fancies, freaks of imagination. JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*, Act I. sc. iv :

“ The very place puts *toys* of desperation,

“ Without more motive, into every brain.” REED.

⁷ *That tempers him to this extremity.]* I have collated the original quarto published in 1597, *verbatim* with that of 1598.

In the first copy this line stands thus :

That *tempers* him to *this extremity*.

and so undoubtedly we should read. To *temper* is to mould, to fashion. So, in *Titus Andronicus*:

“ Now will I to that old Andronicus ;

“ And *temper* him, with all the art I have,

“ To pluck proud Lucius from the warlike Goths.”

Was it not she, and that good man of worship,
 Antony Woodeville, her brother there,⁸
 That made him send lord Hastings to the Tower;
 From whence this present day he is deliver'd?
 We are not safe, Clarence, we are not safe.

CLAR. By heaven, I think, there is no man secure,
 But the queen's kindred, and night-walking heralds
 That trudge betwixt the king and mistress Shore.
 Heard you not, what an humble suppliant
 Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?

GLO. Humbly complaining⁹ to her deity
 Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.
 I'll tell you what,—I think, it is our way,
 If we will keep in favour with the king,
 To be her men, and wear her livery:
 The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,¹
 Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
 Are mighty gossips in this monarchy.

BRAK. I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
 His majesty hath straitly given in charge,

In the quarto, 1598, *tempis* was corruptly printed instead of *tempers*. The metre being then defective, the editor of the folio supplied the defect by reading—

That *tempis* him to this harsh extremity. MALONE.

* — her brother there,] There is in this place, according to our author's usual practice, a dissyllable. MALONE.

Having no faith (as I have too often been obliged to say) in this dissyllabical pronunciation of the adverb—*there*, it is necessary I should add that *Woodeville* is really a trisyllable, and is still so pronounced by a gentleman of that name. STEEVENS.

⁹ Humbly complaining &c.] I think these two lines might be better given to Clarence. JOHNSON.

¹ The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,] That is, the Queen and Shore. JOHNSON.

That no man shall have private conference,
Of what degree so ever, with his brother.

GLO. Even so? an please your worship, Brakenbury,

You may partake of any thing we say:
We speak no treason, man;—We say, the king
Is wise, and virtuous; and his noble queen
Well struck in years;² fair, and not jealous:—
We say, that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip,
A bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue;
And the queen's kindred³ are made gentlefolks:
How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

BRAK. With this, my lord, myself have nought
to do.

GLO. Naught to do with mistress Shore? I tell
thee, fellow,

He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were best to do it secretly, alone.⁴

² *Well struck in years;*] This odd expression in our language was preceded by others as uncouth though of a similar kind. Thus, in Arthur Hall's translation of the first Book of Homer's *Iliad*, 1581:

“ In Grea's forme, the good handmaid, nowe wel *ystept* in yeares.”

Again:

“ *Well shot in years he seem'd,*” &c.

Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. V. c. vi.

The meaning of neither is very obvious; but as Mr. Warton has observed in his Essay on *The Fairy Queen*, by an imperceptible progression from one kindred sense to another, words at length obtain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology.

STEEVENS.

³ *And the queen's kindred*—] The old copies harshly and unnecessarily read—

And that the queen's &c. STEEVENS.

⁴ —alone.] Surely the adjective—*alone*, is an interpolation,

BRAK. What one, my lord?

GLO. Her husband, knave:—Would'st thou betray me?

BRAK. I beseech your grace to pardon me; and, withal,

Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

CLAR. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and will obey.

GLO. We are the queen's abjects,⁵ and must obey.

as what the Duke is talking of, is seldom undertaken before witnesses. Besides, this word deranges the metre, which, without it, would be regular:—for instance:

Were best to do it secretly.

What one,

My lord?

Her husband, knave:—Would'st thou betray me?

STEEVENS.

⁵ — the queen's abjects,] That is, not the queen's subjects, whom she might protect, but her *abjects*, whom she drives away.

JOHNSON.

So, in *The Case is altered*. How? Ask *Dalio* and *Milo*, 1604:

“ This ugly object, or rather *abject* of nature.”

HENDERSON.

I cannot approve of Johnson's explanation. Gloster forms a substantive from the adjective *abject*, and uses it to express a lower degree of submission than is implied by the word *subject*, which otherwise he would naturally have made use of. The Queen's *abjects*, means the most servile of her subjects, who must of course obey all her commands; which would not be the case of those whom she had driven away from her.

In a preceding page Gloster had said of Shore's wife—

“ I think, it is our way,

“ If we will keep in favour with the king,

“ To be her men, and wear her livery.”

The idea is the same in both places, though the expression differs.—In Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, Puntarvolo says to Swift:

“ I'll make thee stoop, thou *abject*!” M. MASON.

This substantive was not of Shakspeare's formation. We meet with it in *Psalm xxxv. 15*: “—yea the very *abjects* came together against me unawares, making mouths at me, and ceased not.”

Brother, farewell: I will unto the king;
 And whatsoever you will employ me in,—
 Were it, to call king Edward's widow—sister,⁶—
 I will perform it to enfranchise you.
 Mean time, this deep disgrace in brotherhood,
 Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

CLAR. I know it pleaseth neither of us well.

GLO. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
 I will deliver you, or else lie for you:⁷
 Mean time, have patience.

CLAR. I must perforce;⁸ farewell.

[*Exeunt CLARENCE, BRAKENBURY, and Guard.*

Again, in Chapman's translation of the 21st Book of Homer's *Odyssey*:

“ Whither? rogue! abject! wilt thou bear from us
 “ That bow propos'd?”

Again, in the same author's version of Homer's *Hymn to Venus*:

“ That thou wilt never let me live to be
 “ An abject, after so divine degree
 “ Taken in fortune;—” STEEVENS.

* *Were it, to call king Edward's widow—sister,*] This is a very covert and subtle manner of insinuating treason. The natural expression would have been, *were it to call king Edward's wife, sister.* I will solicit for you, though it should be at the expence of so much degradation and constraint, as to own the low-born wife of King Edward for a sister. But by slipping, as it were casually, *widow*, into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique proposal to kill the King. JOHNSON.

King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expression of contempt, meaning the *widow Grey*, whom Edward had chosen for his queen. Gloster has already called her, *the jealous o'er-worn widow.* STEEVENS.

⁷ — lie for you:] He means to be *imprisoned in your stead.* To *lie* was anciently to *reside*, as appears by many instances in these volumes. REED.

⁸ I must perforce;] Alluding to the proverb, “ Patience perforce, is a medicine for a mad dog.” STEEVENS.

Glo. Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne'er return,
 Simple, plain Clarence!—I do love thee so,
 That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
 If heaven will take the present at our hands.
 But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Hastings?

Enter HASTINGS.

Hast. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

Glo. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!
 Well are you welcome to this open air.
 How hath your lordship brook'd imprisonment?

Hast. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners
 must:

But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks,
 That were the cause of my imprisonment.

Glo. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence
 too;

For they, that were your enemies, are his,
 And have prevail'd as much on him, as you.

Hast. More pity, that the eagle should be
 mew'd,⁸

While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.

Glo. What news abroad?

Hast. No news so bad abroad, as this at home;—
 The king is sickly, weak, and melancholy,
 And his physicians fear him mightily.

* ————— *should be mew'd,*] A *mew* was the place of confinement where a hawk was kept till he had moulted. So, in *Albumazar*:

“ Stand forth, transform'd Antonio, fully *mew'd* ”

“ From brown soar feathers of dull yeomanry,

“ To the glorious bloom of gentry.” STEEVENS.

GLO. Now, by Saint Paul,⁹ this news is bad indeed.

O, he hath kept an evil diet¹ long,
And over-much consum'd his royal person ;
'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.
What, is he in his bed ?

HAST. He is.²

GLO. Go you before, and I will follow you.

[*Exit Hastings.*

He cannot live, I hope ; and must not die,
Till George be pack'd with posthorse up to heaven.
I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments ;
And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live :
Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to bustle in !
For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter:³
What though I kill'd her husband, and her father ?
The readiest way to make the wench amends,
Is—to become her husband, and her father :
The which will I ; not all so much for love,
As for another secret close intent,
By marrying her, which I must reach unto.
But yet I run before my horse to market :
Clarence still breathes; Edward still lives, and reigns;
When they are gone, then must I count my gains.

[*Exit.*

⁹ Now, by Saint Paul,] The folio reads :

Now, by Saint John, —. STEEVENS.

¹ — an evil diet—] i. e. a bad regimen. STEEVENS.

² He is.] Sir Thomas Hanmer very properly completes this broken verse, by reading —

He is, my lord. STEEVENS.

³ — Warwick's youngest daughter :] See p. 131, n. 4.

STEEVENS.

SCENE II.

The same. Another Street.

Enter the Corpse of King HENRY the Sixth, borne in an open Coffin, Gentlemen bearing Halberds, to guard it; and Lady ANNE as mourner.

ANNE. Set down, set down your honourable load,—

If honour may be shrouded in a hearse,—
Whilst I a while obsequiously lament⁴
The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.—
Poor key-cold⁵ figure of a holy king!
Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!
Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!
Be it lawful that I invoke thy ghost,
To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaughter'd son,
Stabb'd by the self-same hand that made these wounds!

“—obsequiously lament—] *Obsequious*, in this instance, means *funereal*. So, in *Hamlet*, Act I. sc. ii.:

“To do *obsequious sorrow*.” STEEVENS.

“—key-cold—] A key, on account of the coldness of the metal of which it is composed, was anciently employed to stop any slight bleeding. The epithet is common to many old writers; among the rest, it is used by Decker in his *Satiromastix*, 1602:

“—It is best you hide your head, for fear your wise brains take *key-cold*.”

Again, in *The Country Girl*, by T. B. 1647:

“The *key-cold* figure of a man.” STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

“And then in *key-cold* Lucrece' bleeding stream

“He falls—.” MALONE.

Lo, in these windows, that let forth thy life,
I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes :—
O, cursed be the hand that made these holes !
Cursed the heart, that had the heart to do it !
Cursed the blood, that let this blood from hence !
More direful hap betide that hated wretch,
That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads,
Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives !
If ever he have child, abortive be it,
Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
May fright the hopeful mother at the view ;
And that be heir to his unhappiness !⁶
If ever he have wife, let her be made
More miserable by the death of him,
Than I am made by my young lord, and thee !—
Come, now, toward Chertsey with your holy load,
Taken from Paul's to be interred there ;
And, still as you are weary of the weight,
Rest you, whiles I lament king Henry's corse.

[*The Bearers take up the Corpse, and advance.*

Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Stay you, that bear the corse, and set it down.

ANNE. What black magician conjures up this fiend,
To stop devoted charitable deeds ?

⁶ —— to his unhappiness !] i. e. disposition to mischief. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing*: “ Dreamed of unhappiness, and waked herself with laughing.” STEEVENS.

See Vol. VI. p. 55, n. 2; and *Comedy of Errors*, Act IV. sc. iv. MALONE.

GLO. Villains, set down the corse ; or, by Saint Paul,
I'll make a corse of him that disobeys.⁷

1 GENT. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.

GLO. Unmanner'd dog ! stand thou when I command :

Advance thy halberd higher than my breast,
Or, by Saint Paul, I'll strike thee to my foot,
And spurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldness.

[*The Bearers set down the Coffin.*

ANNE. What, do you tremble ? are you all afraid ?
Alas, I blame you not ; for you are mortal,
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.—
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell !
Thou had'st but power over his mortal body,
His soul thou canst not have ; therefore, be gone.

GLO. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curst.

ANNE. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not ;

For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with cursing cries, and deep exclaims.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries :⁸—

⁷ *I'll make a corse of him that disobeys.]* So, in *Hamlet* :
“ I'll make a ghost of him that lets me.” JOHNSON.

⁸ — *pattern of thy butcheries :]* Pattern is instance, or example. JOHNSON.

So, in *The Legend of Lord Hastings, Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1587 :

“ By this my pattern, all ye peers, beware.” MALONE.

Holinshed says : “ The dead corps on the Ascension even was conveied with billes and glaives pompouslie (if you will call that a funeral pompe) from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare-faced ; the same in the

O, gentlemen, see, see ! dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh!¹⁹—
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity ;
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells ;
Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.—
O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his death !
O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge his
death !

presence of the beholders did bleed ; where it rested the space
of one whole daie. From thense he was carried to the Black-
friers, and bled there likewise ;" &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ ————— *see ! dead Henry's wounds*

[Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh !] It is a tra-
dition very generally received, that the murdered body bleeds
on the touch of the murderer. This was so much believed by
Sir Kenelm Digby, that he has endeavoured to explain the
reason. JOHNSON.

So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592 :

“ The more I sound his name, the more he bleeds ;
“ This blood condemns me, and in gushing forth
“ Speaks as it falls, and asks me why I did it.”

Again, in *The Widow's Tears*, by Chapman, 1612 :

“ The captain will assay an old conclusion often approved ;
that at the murderer's sight the blood revives again and boils
afresh ; and every wound has a condemning voice to cry out
guilty against the murderer.”

Again, in the 46th *Idea of Drayton* :

“ If the vile actors of the heinous deed,
“ Near the dead body happily be brought,
“ Oft 't hath been prov'd the breathless corps will bleed.”

See also the 7th article in the tenth Booke of Thomas Lupton's
Notable Thinges, 4to. bl. l. no date, p. 255, &c.

Mr. Tollet observes, that this opinion seems to be derived from
the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations from whom we descend ;
for they practised this method of trial in dubious cases, as ap-
pears from Pitt's *Atlas*, in Sweden, p. 20. STEEVENS.

See also *Demonologie*, 4to. 1608, p. 79 ; and *Goullart's Admirable and Memorable Histories*, translated by Grimeston, 4to.
1607, p. 422. REED.

Either, heaven, with lightning strike the murderer dead,

Or, earth, gape open wide, and eat him quick ;
As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,
Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered !

GLO. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses.

ANNE. Villain, thou know'st no law of God nor man ;

No beast so fierce, but knows some touch of pity.

GLO. But I know none, and therefore am no beast.

ANNE. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth !

GLO. More wonderful, when angels are so angry.—

Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman,
Of these supposed evils, to give me leave,
By circumstance, but to acquit myself.

ANNE. Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man,¹
For these known evils, but to give me leave,
By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self.

GLO. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have

Some patient leisure to excuse myself.

¹ *Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man,]* I believe, *diffus'd* in this place signifies *irregular, uncouth*; such is its meaning in other passages of Shakspeare. JOHNSON.

Diffus'd infection of a man may mean, thou that art as dangerous as a pestilence, that infects the air by its diffusion. *Diffus'd* may, however, mean *irregular*. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

“ — rush at once

“ With some *diffused song.*”

Again, in Greene's *Farewell to Folly*, 1617 :

“ I have seen an English gentleman so *defused* in his sutes ; his doublet being for the *weare* of Castile, his hose for Venice,” &c. STEEVENS.

ANNE. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou
canst make
No excuse current, but to hang thyself.

GLO. By such despair, I should accuse myself.

ANNE. And, by despairing, shalt thou stand
excus'd;

For doing worthy-vengeance on thyself,
That didst unworthy slaughter upon others.

GLO. Say, that I slew them not?

ANNE. Why then, they are not dead :
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee.

GLO. I did not kill your husband.

ANNE. Why, then he is alive.

GLO. Nay, he is dead ; and slain by Edward's
hand.

ANNE. In thy soul's throat³ thou liest ; queen
Margaret saw

Thy murderous faulchion smoking in his blood ;
The which thou once didst bend against her breast,
But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

GLO. I was provoked by her sland'rous tongue,
That laid their guilt⁴ upon my guiltless shoulders.

ANNE. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,
That never dreamt on aught but butcheries :
Didst thou not kill this king ?

³ *Why then, they are not dead :]* Thus the quarto. The folio
reads : *Then say, they are not slain.* MALONE.

⁴ — *thy soul's throat —]* The folio—*thy foul throat.*

STEEVENS.

⁴ *That laid their guilt —]* The crime of my brothers. He
has just charged the murder of Lady Anne's husband upon Ed-
ward. JOHNSON.

Glo.

I grant ye.⁵

ANNE. Dost grant me, hedge-hog? then, God
grant me too,

Thou may'st be damned for that wicked deed!
O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.

Glo. The fitter for the King of heaven that hath
him.⁶

ANNE. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never
come.

Glo. Let him thank me, that holp to send him
thither;

For he was fitter for that place, than earth.

ANNE. And thou unfit for any place but hell.

Glo. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me
name it.

ANNE. Some dungeon.⁷

Glo. Your bed-chamber.

ANNE. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou
liest!

Glo. So will it, madam, till I lie with you.

ANNE. I hope so.

⁵ *I grant ye.*] Read, to perfect the measure:

I grant ye, yea. RITSON.

One of the quartos, instead of—*ye*, reads—*yea*. STEEVENS.

⁶ *O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.*

Glo. The fitter for the King of heaven &c.] So, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, 1609:

“I'll do't: but yet she is a goodly creature.”

“Dion. The fitter then the gods should have her.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *Some dungeon.*] As most of the measure throughout this scene is regular, I cannot help suspecting that our author originally wrote:

Some dungeon, perhaps.

Your bed-chamber. STEEVENS.

GLO. I know so.—But, gentle lady Anne,—
To leave this keen encounter of our wits,
And fall somewhat into a slower method;⁸—
Is not the causer of the timeless deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry, and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

ANNE. Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.⁹

GLO. Your beauty was the cause of that effect;—
Your beauty, which did haunt me in my sleep,
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

⁸ — *a slower method;*] As *quick* was used for *sprightly*, so *slower* was put for *serious*. In the next scene Lord Grey desires the Queen to—

“ — cheer his grace with *quick* and merry words.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ *Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.*] *Effect*, for executioner. He asks, was not the *causer* as ill as the *executioner*? She answers, Thou wast both. But, for *causer*, using the word *cause*, this led her to the word *effect*, for *execution*, or *executioner*. But the Oxford editor, troubling himself with nothing of this, will make a fine oratorical period of it:

Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd the effect.

WARBURTON.

I cannot but be rather of Sir T. Hanmer's opinion than Dr. Warburton's, because *effect* is used immediately in its common sense, in answer to this line. JOHNSON.

I believe the obvious sense is the true one. So, in *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1608:

“ — thou art the *cause*,

“ *Effect*, quality, property; thou, thou.”

Again, in *King Henry IV. P. II*: “ I have read the *cause* of his *effects* in Galen.”

Again, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book II:

“ Both *cause*, *effect*, beginning, and the end,

“ Are all in me.” STEEVENS.

Our author, I think, in another place uses *effect*, for *efficient cause*. MALONE.

ANNE. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,
These nails should rend that beauty from my cheeks.

GLO. These eyes could not endure that beauty's
wreck,

You should not blemish it, if I stood by :
As all the world is cheered by the sun,
So I by that ; it is my day, my life.

ANNE. Black night o'er shade thy day, and death
thy life !

GLO. Curse not thyself, fair creature ; thou art
both.

ANNE. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.

GLO. It is a quarrel most unnatural,
To be reveng'd on him that loveth thee,

ANNE. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,
To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my husband.

GLO. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.

ANNE. His better doth not breathe upon the
earth.

GLO. He lives, that loves you better than he
could.

ANNE. Name him.

GLO. Plantagenet.

ANNE. Why, that was he.

GLO. The self-same name, but one of better
nature.

ANNE. Where is he ?

GLO. Here : [*She spits at him.*] Why
dost thou spit at me ?

ANNE. 'Would it were mortal poison, for thy
sake !

Glo. Never came poison from so sweet a place.

Anne. Never hung poison on a fouler toad.

Out of my sight! thou dost infect mine eyes.

Glo. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.

Anne. 'Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead !'

Glo. I would they were, that I might die at once;
For now they kill me with a living death.²

[*'Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead !'*] " Among the serpents the *Basiliske* doth infecte and kill people with his looke." *Summary of Secret Wonders, &c.* bl. I. by John Alday, no date. STEEVENS.

So, in *The Winter's Tale*:

" Make me not sighted like the basilisk;

" I have look'd on thousands, who have sped the better

" By my regard, but kill'd none so."

See also, *King Henry VI.* P. II. Vol. XIII. p. 281, n. 1.

MALONE.

In *Cornucopia, &c.* 1596, Sign. B. 4: " The eye of the *Basiliske* is so odious to man, that it sleeth man before he come nere him, even by looking upon him." REED.

[*— they kill me with a living death.*] In imitation of this passage, and, I suppose, of a thousand more, Pope writes:

" — a living death I bear,

" Says Dapperwit, and sunk beside his chair."

JOHNSON.

The same conceit occurs in *The trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597: " How happy the rat, caught in a trap, and there dies a living death?"

Again, in Phineas Fletcher's *Locusts, or Apollyonists*, 4to. 1627:

" It lives, yet's death : it pleases full of paine ;

" Monster ! ah who, who can thy beeing faigne ?

" Thou shapelesse shape, live death, paine pleasing,
servile raigne." STEEVENS.

So, in Watson's Sonnets, printed about 1580:

" Love is a sowre delight, a sugred griefe,

" A living death, an ever-dying life."

We have again the same expression in *Venus and Adonis*:

Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,

Sham'd their aspects with store of childish drops :
 These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,³—
 Not, when my father⁴ York and Edward wept,
 To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made,
 When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him :
 Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
 Told the sad story of my father's death ;
 And twenty times made pause, to sob, and weep,
 That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
 Like trees bedash'd with rain : in that sad time,
 My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear ;⁵
 And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
 Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.
 I never su'd to friend, nor enemy ;
 My tongue could never learn sweet soothing word ;⁶

“ For I have heard it [love] is a *life in death*,

“ That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath.”

MALONE.

³ *These eyes, which never &c.]* The twelve following beautiful lines added after the first editions. POPE.

They were added with many more. JOHNSON.

⁴ *Not, when my father—]* The old copies read—*No*, when, &c. The correction was made by Mr. Pope. I am not sure that it is necessary.

This doubt derives strength from a subsequent passage :

“ *Duch.* I hope he is much grown since last I saw him.

“ *Q. Eliz.* But I hear, *no.*” MALONE.

⁵ *My manly eyes did scorn &c.]* Here is an apparent reference to *King Henry VI.* P. III. Act II. sc. i. See p. 52, n. 5.

STEEVENS.

⁶ — *sweet soothing word ;]* Thus the quarto, 1598. The folio has—*sweet smoothing word.* MALONE.

Smooth is, probably, the true reading. So again, p. 301, line ult :

“ *Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog.*”

See also, *Pericles*, Act I. sc. ii. STEEVENS.

But now thy beauty is propos'd my fee,
 My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to
 speak. [*She looks scornfully at him.*
 Teach not thy lip such scorn ; for it was made
 For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.
 If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
 Lo ! here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword ;
 Which if thou please to hide in this true breast,
 And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
 I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
 And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

[*He lays his Breast open ; she offers at it with his Sword.*

Nay, do not pause ; for I did kill king Henry ;—
 But 'twas thy beauty⁷ that provoked me.
 Nay, now despatch ; 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward ;—

[*She again offers at his Breast.*

But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

[*She lets falls the Sword.*

Take up the sword again, or take up me.

ANNE. Arise, dissembler : though I wish thy death,
 I will not be thy executioner.

GLO. Then bid me kill myself, and I will do it.

ANNE. I have already.

GLO. That was in thy rage :
 Speak it again, and, even with the word,
 This hand, which, for thy love, did kill thy love,
 Shall, for thy love, kill a far truer love ;
 To both their deaths shalt thou be accessory.

⁷ *But 'twas thy beauty—]* Shakspeare countenances the observation, that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty. JOHNSON.

ANNE. I would, I knew thy heart.

GLO. 'Tis figur'd in
My tongue.

ANNE. I fear me, both are false.

GLO. Then man
Was never true.⁸

ANNE. Well, well, put up your sword.

GLO. Say then, my peace is made.

ANNE. That shall you know
Hereafter.

GLO. But shall I live in hope?

ANNE. All men,
I hope, live so.

GLO. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

ANNE. To take, is not to give.

[*She puts on the Ring.*

GLO. Look, how this ring encompasseth thy finger,
Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart ;
Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.
And if thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

ANNE. What is it ?

GLO. That it may please you leave these sad de-
signs
To him that hath more cause⁹ to be a mourner,

⁸ *Then man*

Was never true.] Old copy—

Then never man was true.

For the sake of measure, I have hazarded this slight transposi-
tion. STEEVENS.

⁹ — more cause—] The folio—most cause. STEEVENS.

And presently repair to Crosby-place :¹
 Where—after I have solemnly interr'd,
 At Chertsey monast'ry this noble king,
 And wet his grave with my repentant tears,—
 I will with all expedient duty² see you :
 For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you,
 Grant me this boon.

ANNE. With all my heart; and much it joys me
 too,
 To see you are become so penitent.—
 Tressel, and Berkley, go along with me.

GLO. Bid me farewell.

ANNE. 'Tis more than you deserve :
 But, since you teach me how to flatter you,
 Imagine I have said farewell already.³

[*Exeunt Lady ANNE, TRESSEL, and BERKLEY.*]

¹ —— *Crosby-place :*] A house near Bishopsgate Street, belonging to the Duke of Gloster. JOHNSON.

Crosby-place is now *Crosby-square* in Bishopsgate Street; part of the house is yet remaining, and is a meeting place for a presbyterian congregation. SIR J. HAWKINS.

This magnificent house was built in the year 1466, by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman. He died in 1475. The ancient hall of this fabrick is still remaining, though divided by an additional floor, and incumbered by modern galleries, having been converted into a place of worship for Antinomians, &c. The upper part of it is now the warehouse of an eminent Packer.

Sir J. Crosby's tomb is in the neighbouring church of St. Helen the Great. STEEVENS.

² —— *with all expedient duty*—] See Vol. XI. p. 41, n. 6.
 MALONE.

³ *Imagine I have said farewell already.*] Cibber, who altered *King Richard III.* for the stage, was so thoroughly convinced of the ridiculousness and improbability of this scene, that he thought himself obliged to make Tressel say :

When future chronicles shall speak of this,

They will be thought romance, not history.

Thus also, in *Twelfth-Night*, where Fabian observing the

GLO. Take up the corse, sirs.

GENT. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

GLO. No, to White-Friars; there attend my coming.

[*Exeunt the rest, with the Corse.*

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?

Was ever woman in this humour won?

I'll have her,—but I will not keep her long.

What! I, that kill'd her husband, and his father,

To take her in her heart's extremest hate;

With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,

The bleeding witness of her hatred by;

With God, her conscience, and these bars against
me,

And I no friends to back my suit withal,

But the plain devil, and dissembling looks,

And yet to win her,—all the world to nothing!

conduct of Malvolio, says: "If this were played upon a stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction."

From an account of our late unsuccessful embassy to the Emperor of China, we learn, indeed, that a scene of equal absurdity was represented in a theatre at Tien-sing: "One of the dramas, particularly, attracted the attention of those who recollect scenes, somewhat similar, upon the English stage. The piece represented an Emperor of China and his Empress living in supreme felicity, when, on a sudden, his subjects revolt, a civil war ensues, battles are fought, and at last the arch-rebel, who was a general of cavalry, overcomes his sovereign, kills him with his own hand, and routs the imperial army. The captive Empress then appears upon the stage in all the agonies of despair, naturally resulting from the loss of her husband and of her dignity, as well as the apprehension for that of her honour. Whilst she is tearing her hair, and rending the skies with her complaints, the conqueror enters, approaches her with respect, addresses her in a gentle tone, soothes her sorrows with his compassion, talks of love and adoration, and like Richard the Third, with Lady Anne in Shakspeare, prevails in less than half an hour, on the Chinese Princess to dry up her tears, to forget her deceased consort, and yield to a consoling wooer." STEEVENS.

Ha!

Hath she forgot already that brave prince,
Edward, her lord, whom I, some three monthssince,
Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?⁴
A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,—
Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,⁵
Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,⁶—
The spacious world cannot again afford:
And will she yet abase her eyes on me,
That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet prince,
And made her widow to a woful bed?

⁴ — *whom I, some three months since,*

Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?] Here we have the exact time of this scene ascertained, namely August 1471. King Edward, however, is in the second Act introduced dying. That King died in April 1483; so there is an interval between this and the next Act of almost twelve years. Clarence, who is represented in the preceding scene as committed to the Tower before the burial of King Henry VI. was in fact not confined nor put to death till seven years afterwards, March, 1477-8.

MALONE.

⁵ *Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,]* i. e. when nature was in a prodigal or lavish mood. WARBURTON.

⁶ — *and, no doubt, right royal,]* Of the degree of royalty belonging to Henry the Sixth there could be *no doubt*, nor could Richard have mentioned it with any such hesitation; he could not indeed very properly allow him *royalty*. I believe we should read :

— *and, no doubt, right loyal.*

That is, *true to her bed*. He enumerates the reasons for which she should love him. He was *young, wise, and valiant*; these were apparent and indisputable excellencies. He then mentions another not less likely to endear him to his wife, but which he had less opportunity of knowing with certainty, *and, no doubt, right loyal*. JOHNSON.

Richard is not speaking of King Henry, but of Edward his son, whom he means to represent as *full of all the noble properties of a king*. *No doubt, right royal*, may, however, be ironically spoken, alluding to the incontinence of Margaret, his mother. STEEVENS.

On me, whose all not equals Edward's moiety?
 On me, that halt, and am misshapen thus?
 My dukedom to a beggarly denier,⁷
 I do mistake my person all this while:
 Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
 Myself to be a marvellous proper man.⁸
 I'll be at charges for a looking-glass;
 And entertain a score or two of tailors,
 To study fashions to adorn my body:
 Since I am crept in favour with myself,
 I will maintain it with some little cost.
 But, first, I'll turn yon' fellow in his grave;⁹
 And then return lamenting to my love.—
 Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass,
 That I may see my shadow as I pass. [Exit.]

⁷ — *a beggarly denier,*] A *denier* is the twelfth part of a French *sous*, and appears to have been the usual request of a *beggar*. So, in *The Cunning Northerne Beggar*, bl. l. an ancient ballad:

“ For still will I cry, good your worship, good sir,
 “ Bestow one poor *denier*, Sir.” STEEVENS.

⁸ — *a marvellous proper man.*] *Marvellous* is here used adverbially. *Proper* in old language was *handsome*. See Vol. VII. p. 248, n. 1. MALONE.

⁹ — *I'll turn yon' fellow in his grave;*] *In* is here used for *into*. Thus, in Chapman's version of the 24th *Iliad*:

“ — Mercurie shall guide
 “ His passage, till the prince be neare. And (he gone)
 let him ride
 “ Resolv'd, ev'n in Achilles tent.” STEEVENS.

SCENE III.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter Queen ELIZABETH, Lord RIVERS, and Lord GREY.

RIV. Have patience, madam ; there's no doubt,
his majesty

Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

GREY. In that you brook it ill, it makes him
worse :

Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good comfort,
And cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

Q. ELIZ. If he were dead, what would betide of
me ?

GREY. No other harm, but loss of such a lord.

Q. ELIZ. The loss of such a lord includes all
harms.

GREY. The heavens have bless'd you with a
goodly son,
To be your comforter, when he is gone.

Q. ELIZ. Ah, he is young ; and his minority
Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloster,
A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

RIV. Is it concluded, he shall be protector ?

Q. ELIZ. It is determin'd, not concluded yet :¹
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.

¹ *It is determin'd, not concluded yet :]* Determin'd signifies the final conclusion of the will : concluded, what cannot be altered by reason of some act, consequent on the final judgment.

Enter BUCKINGHAM and STANLEY.

GREY. Here come the lords of Buckingham and Stanley.²

BUCK. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

STAN. God make your majesty joyful as you have been!

Q. ELIZ. The countess Richmond,³ good my lord of Stanley,

To your good prayer will scarcely say—amen.
Yet, Stanley, notwithstanding she's your wife,
And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur'd,
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

STAN. I do beseech you, either not believe
The envious slanders of her false accusers;
Or, if she be accus'd on true report,
Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds
From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice.

* *Here come the lords of Buckingham and Stanley.]* [Old copies—*Derby*.] This is a blunder of inadvertence, which has run through the whole chain of impressions. It could not well be original in Shakspeare, who was most minutely intimate with his history, and the intermarriages of the nobility. The person here called Derby, was Thomas Lord Stanley, Lord Steward of King Edward the Fourth's household. But this Thomas Lord Stanley was not created Earl of Derby till after the accession of Henry the Seventh; and accordingly, afterwards, in the fourth and fifth Acts of this play, before the battle of Bosworth-field, he is every where called Lord Stanley. This sufficiently justifies the change I have made in his title. THEOBALD.

³ *The countess Richmond,]* Margaret, daughter to John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset. After the death of her first husband, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, half-brother to King Henry VI. by whom she had only one son, afterwards King Henry VII. she married first Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Humphrey Duke of Buckingham. MALONE.

Q. ELIZ. Saw you the king to-day, my lord of Stanley?

STAN. But now, the duke of Buckingham, and I, Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. ELIZ. What likelihood of his amendment, lords?

BUCK. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks cheerfully.

Q. ELIZ. God grant him health! Did you confer with him?

BUCK. Ay, madam: he desires to make atonement

Between the duke of Gloster and your brothers,
And between them and my lord chamberlain;
And sent to warn them⁴ to his royal presence.

Q. ELIZ. 'Would all were well!—But that will never be;—
I fear, our happiness is at the height.

Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and DORSET.

GLO. They do me wrong, and I will not endure it:

Who are they, that complain unto the king,
That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly,
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.
Because I cannot flatter, and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,

⁴ — to warn them —] i. e. to summon. So, in *Julius Cæsar*:

“They mean to *warn* us at Philippi here.” STEEVENS.

Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,⁵
 I must be held a rancorous enemy.
 Cannot a plain man live, and think no harm,
 But thus his simple truth must be abus'd
 By silken, sly, insinuating Jacks?⁶

GREY. To whom in all this presence speaks your grace?

GLO. To thee, that hast nor honesty, nor grace.
 When have I injur'd thee? when done thee wrong?—

Or thee?—or thee?—or any of your faction?
 A plague upon you all! His royal grace,—
 Whom God preserve better than you would wish!—
 Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while,
 But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.⁷

Q. ELIZ. Brother of Gloster, you mistake the matter:

The king, of his own royal disposition,

⁵ ————— speak fair,

Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,

Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,] An importation of artificial manners seems to have afforded our ancient poets a never failing topick of invective. So, in *A tragical Discourse of the Haplesse Man's Life*, by Chuchyard, 1593 :

“ We make a legge, and kisse the hand withall,
 “ (A French deuice, nay sure a Spanish tricke)
 “ And speake in print, and say loe at your call
 “ I will remaine your owne both dead and quicke.
 “ A courtier so can give a lobbe a licke,
 “ And dress a dolt in motley for a while,
 “ And so in sleeue at silly woodcocke smile.”

STEEVENS.

⁶ ————— *insinuating Jacks?*] See Vol. VI. p. 18, n. 8.

MALONE.

⁷ ————— *with lewd complaints.*] *Lewd*, in the present instance, signifies *rude, ignorant*; from the Anglo-Saxon *Laewede*, a *Laick*. Chaucer often uses the word *lewd*, both for a *laick* and an *ignorant* person. See Ruddiman's Glossary to *Gawin Douglas's translation of the Æneid*. STEEVENS.

And not provok'd by any suitor else ;
 Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred,
 That in your outward action shows itself,
 Against my children, brothers, and myself,
 Makes him to send ; that thereby he may gather
 The ground of your ill-will,⁸ and so remove it.

GLO. I cannot tell ;—The world is grown so bad,
 That wrens may prey⁹ where eagles dare not perch :
 Since every Jack became a gentleman,¹
 There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

Q. ELIZ. Come, come, we know your meaning,
 brother Gloster ;
 You envy my advancement, and my friends ;
 God grant, we never may have need of you !

GLO. Meantime, God grants that we have need
 of you :
 Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
 Myself disgrac'd, and the nobility

* — of your ill-will, &c.] This line is restored from the first edition. POPE.

By the first edition Mr. Pope, as appears from his *Table of Editions*, means the quarto of 1598. But that and the subsequent quartos read—and to remove. The emendation was made by Mr. Steevens. The folio has only—

“ Makes him to send, that he may learn the ground.”

Here clearly a line was omitted : yet had there been no quarto copy, it would have been thought hardy to supply the omission : but of all the errors of the press omission is the most frequent ; and it is a great mistake to suppose that these *lacunæ* exist only in the imagination of editors and commentators. MALONE.

⁹ — may prey—] The quarto 1598, and the folio read—make prey. The correction, which all the modern editors have adopted, is taken from the quarto, 1602. MALONE.

¹ Since every Jack became a gentleman,] This proverbial expression at once demonstrates the origin of the term *Jack* so often used by Shakspeare. It means one of the very lowest class of people, among whom this name is of the most common and familiar kind. DOUCE.

Held in contempt ; while great promotions
Are daily given, to enoble those
That scarce, some two days since, were worth a
noble.

Q. ELIZ. By Him, that rais'd me to this careful
height

From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incense his majesty
Against the duke of Clarence, but have been
An earnest advocate to plead for him.
My lord, you do me shameful injury,
Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

GLO. You may deny that you were not the cause
Of my lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

RIV. She may, my lord ; for—

GLO. She may, lord Rivers ?—why, who knows
not so ?

She may do more, sir, than denying that :
She may help you to many fair preferments ;
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high desert.
What may she not ? She may,—ay, marry, may
she,—

RIV. What, marry, may she ?

GLO. What, marry, may she ? marry with a king,
A bachelor, a handsome stripling too :
I wis, your grandam had a worser match.

Q. ELIZ. My lord of Gloster, I have too long
borne

Your blunt upbraidings, and your bitter scoffs :
By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty,
Of those gross taunts I often have endur'd.
I had rather be a country servant-maid,
Than a great queen, with this condition—

To be so baited, scorn'd, and stormed at :
Small joy have I in being England's queen,

Enter Queen MARGARET, behind.

Q. MAR. And lessen'd be that small, God, I
beseech thee !

Thy honour, state, and seat, is due to me.

GLO. What ? threat you me with telling of the
king ?

Tell him, and spare not : look, what I have said²
I will avouch, in presence of the king :
I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.³
'Tis time to speak, my pains⁴ are quite forgot.

Q. MAR. Out, devil!⁵ I remember them too well :
Thou kill'dst my husband Henry in the Tower,
And Edward, my poor son, at Tewksbury.

GLO. Ere you were queen, ay, or your husband
king,

² *Tell him, and spare not : look, what I have said—]* This verse I have restored from the old quartos. THEOBALD.

Here we have another proof of a line being passed over by the transcriber, or the compositor at the press, when the first folio was printed, for the subsequent line is not sense without this. MALONE.

³ *I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.]* Perhaps our author elliptically omitted the first—to in this line. So, in p. 315 :

“ To help thee curse” &c. i. e. to curse.

See also, p. 294, and p. 301. STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *my pains—]* My labours; my toils. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Out, devil !]* Mr. Lambe observes, in his notes on the ancient metrical history of *The Battle of Flodden Field*, that *out* is an interjection of abhorrence or contempt, most frequent in the mouths of the common people of the north. It occurs again in Act IV :

“ ————— out on ye, owls !” STEEVENS.

I was a pack-horse in his great affairs ;
 A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,
 A liberal rewarder of his friends ;
 To royalize⁶ his blood, I spilt mine own.

Q. MAR. Ay, and much better blood than his,
 or thine.

GLO. In all which time, you, and your husband
 Grey,

Were factious for the house of Lancaster ;—
 And, Rivers, so were you :—Was not your husband
 In Margaret's battle⁷ at Saint Albans slain ?
 Let me put in your minds, if you forget,
 What you have been ere now, and what you are ;
 Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

Q. MAR. A murd'rous villain, and so still thou
 art.

GLO. Poor Clarence did forsake his father War-
 wick,

Ay, and forswore himself,—Which Jesu pardon !—

Q. MAR. Which God revenge !

GLO. To fight on Edward's party, for the crown ;

⁶ — royalize—] i. e. to make royal. So, in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607 :

“ Who means to-morrow for to royalize
 “ The triumphs” &c. STEEVENS.

⁷ —Was not your husband

In Margaret's battle &c.] It is said in *Henry VI.* that he
 died in quarrel of the house of York. JOHNSON.

The account here given is the true one. See this inconsis-
 tency accounted for in p. 105, and in the Dissertation at the end
 of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 251. MALONE.

Margaret's battle is—Margaret's army. RITSON.

So, in *King Henry VI.* P. I.:

“ What may the king's whole battle reach unto ?”

STEEVENS.

And, for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up:
 I would to God, my heart were flint like Edward's,
 Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine;
 I am too childish-foolish for this world.

Q. MAR. Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave
 this world,
 Thou cacodæmon! there thy kingdom is.

RIV. My lord of Gloster, in those busy days,
 Which here you urge, to prove us enemies,
 We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king;⁸
 So should we you, if you should be our king.

GLO. If I should be?—I had rather be a pedlar:
 Far be it from my heart, the thought thereof!

Q. ELIZ. As little joy, my lord, as you suppose
 You should enjoy, were you this country's king;
 As little joy you may suppose in me,
 That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.

Q. MAR. A little joy enjoys the queen thereof;
 For I am she, and altogether joyless.
 I can no longer hold me patient.— [Advancing.
 Hear me, you wrangling pirates,⁹ that fall out

⁸ — *our lawful king;*] So the quarto 1598, and the subsequent quartos. The folio has—*sovereign* king.

In this play the variations between the original copy in quarto, and the folio, are more numerous than, I believe, in any other of our author's pieces. The alterations, it is highly probable, were made, not by Shakspeare, but by the players, many of them being very injudicious. The text has been formed out of the two copies, the folio, and the early quarto; from which the preceding editors have in every scene selected such readings as appeared to them fit to be adopted. To enumerate every variation between the copies would encumber the page with little use. MALONE.

⁹ *Hear me, you wrangling pirates, &c.]* This scene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra, for the following tragic revolutions.

WARBURTON.

In sharing that which you have pill'd from me :¹
 Which of you trembles not, that looks on me?
 If not, that, I being queen, you bow like subjects;
 Yet that, by you depos'd, you quake like rebels?—
 Ah, gentle villain,² do not turn away !

Glo. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'st thou in
 my sight?³

Q. MAR. But repetition of what thou hast marr'd;
 That will I make, before I let thee go.

Surely, the merits of this scene are insufficient to excuse its improbability. Margaret bullying the court of England in the royal palace, is a circumstance as absurd as the courtship of Gloster in a publick street. STEEVENS.

¹ — which you have pill'd from me :] To *pill* is to pillage. So, in *The Martyr'd Soldier*, by Shirley, 1638 :

“ He has not *pill'd* the rich, nor *flay'd* the poor.”

STEEVENS.

To *pill*, is literally, to take off the outside or rind. Thus they say in Devonshire, to *pill* an apple, rather than *pare* it; and Shirley uses the word precisely in this sense. HENLEY.

² Ah, gentle villain,] We should read :

—— ungentle villain. —— WARBURTON.

The meaning of *gentle* is not, as the commentator imagines, *tender* or *courteous*, but *high-born*. An opposition is meant between that and *villain*, which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born wretch*. So before :

“ Since ev'ry Jack is made a *gentleman*,

“ There's many a *gentle* person made a Jack.”

JOHNSON.

Gentle appears to me to be taken in its common acceptation, but to be used ironically. M. MASON.

³ — what mak'st thou in my sight?] An obsolete expression for — what dost thou in my sight. So, in *Othello* :

“ Ancient, what makes he here?”

Margaret in her answer takes the word in its ordinary acceptation. MALONE.

So does Orlando, in *As you like it* :

“ Now, sir, what make you here?—

“ Nothing: I am not taught to make any thing.”

STEEVENS.

GLO. Wert thou not banished, on pain of death?⁴

Q. MAR. I was ; but I do find more pain in banishment,

Than death can yield me here by my abode.

A husband, and a son, thou ow'st to me,—

And thou, a kingdom ;—all of you, allegiance :

This sorrow that I have, by right is yours ;

And all the pleasures you usurp, are mine.

GLO. The curse my noble father laid on thee,—
When thou didst crown his warlike brows with
paper,

And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes ;
And then, to dry them, gav'st the duke a clout,
Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland ;—
His curses, then from bitterness of soul
Denounc'd against thee, are all fallen upon thee ;
And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.⁵

Q. ELIZ. So just is God, to right the innocent.⁶

HAST. O, 'twas the foulest deed to slay that babe,
And the most merciless, that e'er was heard of.

⁴ *Wert thou not banished, on pain of death?*] Margaret fled into France after the battle of Hexham in 1464, and Edward soon afterwards issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his subjects from aiding her to return, or harbouring her, should she attempt to revisit England. She remained abroad till the 14th of April 1471, when she landed at Weymouth. After the battle of Tewksbury, in May 1471, she was confined in the Tower, where she continued a prisoner till 1475, when she was ransomed by her father Reignier, and removed to France, where she died in 1482. The present scene is in 1477-8. MALONE.

⁵ — *hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.*] So, in *King John* :
“ That he's not only plagued for her sin.”

To *plague*, in ancient language, is to *punish*. Hence the scriptural term—“ the *plagues* of Egypt.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *So just is God, to right the innocent.*] So, in *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, 1602 :

“ How just is God, to right the innocent!” RITSON.

RIV. Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported.

DORS. No man but prophesied revenge for it.

BUCK. Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.⁷

Q. MAR. What! were you snarling all, before I came,

Ready to catch each other by the throat,

And turn you all your hatred now on me?

Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven,

That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
Their kingdom's loss, my woful banishment,
Could all but answer for that peevish brat?⁸

Can curses pierce the clouds, and enter heaven?—
Why, then give way, dull clouds, to my quick
curses!—

Though not by war, by surfeit die your king,⁹
As ours by murder, to make him a king!

Edward, thy son, that now is prince of Wales,
For Edward, my son, that was prince of Wales,
Die in his youth, by like untimely violence!

Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,
Outlive thy glory, like my wretched self!

⁷ *Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.]* Alluding to a scene in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

“What, weeping ripe, my lord Northumberland?”

STEEVENS.

⁸ *Could all but answer for that peevish brat?] This is the reading of all the editions, yet I have no doubt but we ought to read—*

“Could all not answer for that peevish brat?

The sense seems to require this amendment; and there are no words so frequently mistaken for each other as *not* and *but*.

M. MASON.

⁹ — *by surfeit die your king,]* Alluding to his luxurious life. JOHNSON.

Long may'st thou live, to wail thy children's loss;
 And see another as I see thee now,
 Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd in mine !
 Long die thy happy days before thy death ;
 And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
 Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen!—
 Rivers,—and Dorset,—you were standers by,—
 And so wast thou, lord Hastings,—when my son
 Was stabb'd with bloody daggers ; God, I pray
 him,

That none of you may live your natural age,
 But by some unlook'd accident cut off!

Glo. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd
 hag.

Q. MAR. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for
 thou shalt hear me.

If heaven have any grievous plague in store,
 Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
 O, let them keep it, till thy sins be ripe,
 And then hurl down their indignation
 On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace !
 The worm of conscience still be-gnaw thy soul !
 Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou liv'st,
 And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends !
 No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
 Unless it be while some tormenting dream
 Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils !
 Thou elvish-mark'd,¹ abortive, rooting hog !²

¹ —— *elvish-mark'd,*] The common people in Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*,) have still an aversion to those who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them *mark'd* out for mischief. STEEVENS.

² —— *rooting hog !*] The expression is fine, alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens; and intimating that Elizabeth was to expect no other treatment for her sons. WARBURTON.

Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity

She calls him *hog*, as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elsewhere termed from his ensigns armorial.

JOHNSON.

In *The Mirror for Magistrates* is the following *Complaint of Collingbourne, who was cruelly executed for making a rime*:

“ For where I meant the king by name of hog,
 “ I only alluded to his badge the bore :
 “ To Lovel’s name I added more,—our dog ;
 “ Because most dogs have borne that name of yore.
 “ These metaphors I us’d with other more,
 “ As cat and rat, the half-names of the rest,
 “ To hide the sense that they so wrongly wrest.”

That *Lovel* was once the common name of a dog may be likewise known from a passage in *The Historie of Jacob and Esau*, an interlude, 1568 :

“ Then come on at once, take my quiver and my bowe ;
 “ Fette *lovell* my hounde, and my horne to blowe.”

The rhyme for which Collingbourne suffered, was :

“ A cat, a rat, and Lovel the dog,
 “ Rule all England under a hog.” STEEVENS.

The rhyme of Collingbourne is thus preserved in Heywood’s *History of Edward IV*. P. II :

“ The cat, the rat, and Lovell our dog,
 “ Doe rule all England under a hog.
 “ The crooke backt boore the way hath found
 “ *To root our roses from our ground.*
 “ *Both flower and bud will he confound,*
 “ Till king of beasts the swine be crown’d :
 “ And then the dog, the cat, and rat,
 “ Shall in his trough feed and be fat.”

The propriety of Dr. Warburton’s note, notwithstanding what Dr. Johnson hath subjoined, is fully confirmed by this satire.

HENLEY.

The persons levelled at by this rhyme were the King, Catesby, Ratcliff, and Lovel, as appears in *The Complaint of Collingbourne*:

“ Catesbye was one whom I called a cat,
 “ A craftie lawyer catching all he could ;
 “ The second Ratcliffe, whom I named a rat,
 “ A cruel beast to gnaw on whom he should :
 “ Lord Lovel barkt and byt whom Richard would,

The slave of nature,³ and the son of hell!
 Thou slander of thy mother's heavy womb!
 Thou loathed issue of thy father's loins!
 Thou rag of honour!⁴ thou detested—

Glo. Margaret,

Q. Mar. Richard!

Glo.

Ha?

Q. Mar.

I call thee not.

“ Whom I therefore did rightly terme our dog,
 “ Wherewith to ryme I cald the king a hog.”

MALONE.

³ *The slave of nature,*] The expression is strong and noble, and alludes to the ancient custom of masters branding their profligate slaves; by which it is insinuated that his misshapen person was the mark that nature had set upon him to stigmatize his ill conditions. Shakspeare expresses the same thought in *The Comedy of Errors*:

“ *He is deformed, crooked, &c.*”

“ *Stigmatized in making,—*”

But as the speaker rises in her resentment, she expresses this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a still worse state of slavery :

“ Sin, death, and hell, have set their *marks* on him.”

Only, in the first line, her mention of his moral conditions insinuates her reflections on his deformity: and, in the last, her mention of his deformity insinuates her reflections on his moral condition: And thus he has taught her to scold in all the elegance of figure. WARBURTON.

Part of Dr. Warburton's note is confirm'd by a line in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*, from which it appears he was acquainted with the practice of marking slaves:

“ Worse than a *slavish wife*, or birth-hour's blot.”

MALONE.

⁴ *Thou rag of honour! &c.]* This word of contempt is used again in *Timon*:

“ If thou wilt curse, thy father, that poor *rag*,

“ Must be the subject.”

Again, in this play:

“ These over-weening *rags* of France.” STEEVENS.

GLO. I cry thee mercy then ; for I did think,
That thou had'st call'd me all these bitter names.

Q. MAR. Why, so I did ; but look'd for no reply.
O, let me make the period to my curse.

GLO. 'Tis done by me ; and ends in—Margaret.

Q. ELIZ. Thus have you breath'd your curse
against yourself.

Q. MAR. Poor painted queen, vain flourish of
my fortune!⁵

Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled spider,⁶

⁵ —— *flourish of my fortune!*] This expression is likewise used by Massinger in *The Great Duke of Florence*:

“ —— I allow these

“ *As flourishings of fortune.*” STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *bottled spider,*] A spider is called bottled, because, like other insects, he has a middle slender, and a belly protuberant. Richard's form and venom, made her liken him to a spider. JOHNSON.

A critick, who styles himself “ Robert Heron, *Esquire*,” (though his title to *Esquireship* is but ill supported by his language, “ puppy, booby, wise-acre,” &c. being the usual distinctions he bestows on authors who are not his favourites,) very gravely assures us that “ a *bottled* spider is evidently a spider kept in a *bottle* long fasting, and of consequence the more spiteful and venomous.” May one ask if the infuriation of our *Esquire* originates from a similar cause? Hath he newly escaped, like Asmodeo, from the phial of some Highland sorcerer, under whose discipline he had experienced the provocation of lenten imprisonment?—Mrs. Raffald disserts on *bottled gooseberries*, and George Falkener warns us against *bottled children*; but it was reserved for our *Esquire* (every one knows who our *Esquire* is) to discover that spiders, like ale, grow brisker from being *bottled*, and derive additional venom from being starved.—It would be the interest of every writer to wish for an opponent like the *Esquire Heron*, did not the general credit of letters oppose the production of such another critick.—So far I am from wishing the lucubrations of our *Esquire* to be forgotten, that I counsel thee, gentle reader, (and especially, provided thou art a hypochondriac,) to peruse, and (if thou canst) to re-peruse them, and finally to

Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about?
 Fool, fool! thou whet'st a knife to kill thyself.
 The day will come, that thou shalt wish for me
 To help thee curse this pois'rous bunch-back'd
 toad.

HAST. False-boding woman, end thy frantick
 curse;

Lest, to thy harm, thou move our patience.

Q. MAR. Foul shame upon you! you have all
 mov'd mine.

RIV. Were you well serv'd, you would be taught
 your duty.

Q. MAR. To serve me well, you all should do me
 duty,

Teach me to be your queen, and you my subjects:
 O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that duty.

DOR. Dispute not with her, she is lunatick.

Q. MAR. Peace, master marquis, you are mala-
 pert:

Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current:⁷
 O, that your young nobility could judge,
 What 'twere to lose it, and be miserable!

thank me as thy purveyor of a laugh.—Every man should court
 a fresh onset from an adversary, who, in the act of ridiculing
 others, exposes himself to yet more obvious ridicule.

STEEVENS.

A *bottled spider* is a large, bloated, glossy spider; supposed to
 contain venom proportionate to its size. The expression occurs
 again in Act IV:

“That *bottled spider*, that foul hunch-back'd toad.”

RITSON.

⁷ Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current:] Thomas
 Grey was created Marquis of Dorset, A. D. 1476. PERCY.

The present scene, as has been already observed, is in 1477-8.

MALONE.

They that stand high, have many blasts to shake them;

And, if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

Glo. Good counsel, marry ;—learn it, learn it, marquis.

Dor. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

Glo. Ay, and much more : But I was born so high,

Our aiery buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.

Q. MAR. And turns the sun to shade ;—alas !—
alas !—

Witness my son, now in the shade of death ;⁸
Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkness folded up.

Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's nest :⁹—

O God, that see'st it, do not suffer it ;
As it was won with blood, lost be it so !

BUCK. Peace, peace, for shame, if not for charity.

Q. MAR. Urge neither charity nor shame to me ;

* *Witness my son, &c.]* Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling. It may be here remarked, that the introduction of Margaret in this place, is against all historical evidence. She was ransomed and sent to France soon after Tewksbury fight, and there passed the remainder of her wretched life. RITSON.

Witness my son,] Thus the quarto of 1598, and the folio. The modern editors, after the quarto of 1612, read—*sun.*

MAL ONE.

⁹ *Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's nest :]* An *aiery* is a hawk's or an eagle's nest. So, in Greene's *Card of Fancy*, 1608 :

“ It is a subtle bird that breeds among the *aiery* of hawks.”

Again, in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630 :

“ His high-built *aiery* shall be drown'd in blood.”

Again, in Massinger's *Maid of Honour*:

“ One *aiery*, with proportion, ne'er discloses

“ The eagle and the wren.” STEEVENS.

Uncharitably with me have you dealt,
And shamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.
My charity is outrage, life my shame,—
And in my shame still live my sorrow's rage !

BUCK. Have done, have done.

Q. MAR. O princely Buckingham, I kiss thy hand,

In sign of league and amity with thee :
Now fair befall thee, and thy noble house !
Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse.

BUCK. Nor no one here ; for curses never pass
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

Q. MAR. I'll not believe but they ascend the sky,
And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.
O Buckingham, beware of yonder dog ;
Look, when he fawns, he bites ; and, when he bites,

His venom tooth will rankle to the death :
Have not to do with him, beware of him ;
Sin, death, and hell,¹ have set their marks on him ;
And all their ministers attend on him.

GLO. What doth she say, my lord of Buckingham ?

BUCK. Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord.

Q. MAR. What, dost thou scorn me for my gentle counsel ?

¹ *Sin, death, and hell,*] Possibly Milton took from hence the hint of his famous allegory. BLACKSTONE.

Milton might as probably catch the hint from the following passage in Latimer's *Sermons*, 1584, fol. 79 : "Here came in death and hell, sinne was their mother. Therefore they must have such animage as their mother sinne would geue them."

HOLT WHITE.

And sooth the devil that I warn thee from ?
 O, but remember this another day,
 When he shall split thy very heart with sorrow ;
 And say, poor Margaret was a prophetess.—
 Live each of you the subjects to his hate,
 And he to yours, and all of you to God's !² [Exit.]

HAST. My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses.

RIV. And so doth mine ; I muse, why she's at liberty.³

GLO. I cannot blame her, by God's holy mother ;
 She hath had too much wrong, and I repent
 My part thereof, that I have done to her.

Q. ELIZ. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

GLO. Yet you have all the vantage of her wrong.
 I was too hot to do some body good,
 That is too cold in thinking of it now.
 Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repaid ;
 He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains ;⁴—
 God pardon them that are the cause thereof !

* *Live each of you the subjects to his hate,*

And he to yours, and all of you to God's !] It is evident from the conduct of Shakspeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In his play of *Richard the Third*, he seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which Queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. *WALPOLE.*

³ — *I muse, why she's at liberty.*] Thus the folio. The quarto reads :

“ — *I wonder she's at liberty.*” *STEEVENS.*

⁴ *He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains ;*] A *frank* is an old English word for a *hog-sty*. 'Tis possible he uses this metaphor to Clarence, in allusion to the crest of the family of York, which was a *boar*. Whereto relate those famous old verses on Richard III :

Riv. A virtuous and a christian-like conclusion,
To pray for them that have done scath to us.⁵

Glo. So do I ever, being well advis'd ;—
For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself. [Aside.]

Enter CATESBY.

Cates. Madam, his majesty doth call for you,—
And for your grace,—and you, my noble lords.

Q. Eliz. Catesby, I come :—Lords, will you go
with me ?

Riv. Madam, we will attend upon your grace.

[*Exeunt all but GLOSTER.*]

“ The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,

“ Rule all England under a hog.”

He uses the same metaphor in the last scene of Act IV. POPE.

A *frank* was not a common *hog-stye*, but the pen in which those hogs were confined of whom *brawn* was to be made.

STEEVENS.

From the manner in which the word is used in *King Henry IV.* a *frank* should seem to mean a pen in which *any* hog is fatted. “ Does the old boar feed in the old *frank*? ” So also, as Mr. Bowle observes to me, in Holinshed’s *Description of Britaine*, B. III. p. 1096 : “ The husbandmen and farmers never *fraunke* them above three or four months, in which time he is dyeted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planches of an *uneasie coate*. ”

“ He feeds like a boar in a *frank*, ” as the same gentleman observes, is one of Ray’s proverbial sentences. MALONE.

Mr. Bowle’s chief instance will sufficiently countenance my assertion : for what hogs, except those designed for *brawn*, are ever purposely lodged “ on the bare planches of an *uneasy cote*? ”

STEEVENS.

⁵ — done scath to us.] Scath is harm, mischief. So, in *Soliman and Perseda*:

“ Whom now that paltry island keeps from scath.”

Again :

“ Millions of men opprest with ruin and scath.”

STEEVENS.

GLO. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
 The secret mischiefs that I set abroach,
 I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
 Clarence;—whom I, indeed, havelaid in darkness,—
 I do beweep to many simple gulls;
 Namely, to Stanley, Hastings, Buckingham;
 And tell them—'tis the queen and her allies,
 That stir the king against the duke my brother.
 Now they believe it; and withal whet me
 To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey:
 But then I sigh, and, with a piece of scripture,
 Tell them—that God bids us do good for evil:
 And thus I clothe my naked villainy
 With old odd ends, stol'n forth of holy writ;
 And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.

Enter Two Murderers.

But soft, here come my executioners.—
 How now, my hardy, stout resolved mates?
 Are you now going to despatch this thing?⁶

1 *MURD.* We are, my lord; and come to have
 the warrant,
 That we may be admitted where he is.

GLO. Well thought upon, I haye it here about
 me: [Gives the Warrant.
 When you have done, repair to Crosby-place.
 But, sirs, be sudden in the execution,

⁶ —— to despatch this thing?] Seagars in his *Legend of Richard the Third*, speaking of the murder of Gloster's nephews, makes him say:

“ What though he refused, yet be sure you may,
 “ That other were as ready to take in hand *that thing*. ”

The coincidence was, I believe, merely accidental.

Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead ;
For Clarence is well spoken, and, perhaps,
May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.

1 MURD. Tut, tut, my lord, we will not stand
to prate,
Talkers are no good doers ; be assur'd,
We go to use our hands, and not our tongues.

GLO. Your eyes drop mill-stones, when fools' eyes
drop tears :⁷
I like you, lads ;—about your business straight ;
Go, go, despatch.

1 MURD. We will, my noble lord.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in the Tower.

Enter CLARENCE and BRAKENBURY.

BRAK. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day ?

CLAR. O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,⁸
That, as I am a christian faithful man,⁹
I would not spend another such a night,

⁷ *Your eyes drop mill-stones, when fools' eyes drop tears :*] This, I believe, is a proverbial expression. It is used again in the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607 :

“ Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools shed tears.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,*] Thus the folio. The quarto, 1598 :

“ So full of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams.” MALONE.

⁹ —————*faithful man,*] Not an infidel. JOHNSON.

Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days;
So full of dismal terror was the time.

BRAK. What was your dream, my lord? I pray you, tell me.

CLAR. Methought, that I had broken from the Tower,

And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy;¹
And, in my company, my brother Gloster:
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches; thence we look'd toward Eng-
land,

And cited up a thousand heavy times,
During the wars of York and Lancaster
That had befall'n us. As we pac'd along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought, that Gloster stumbled; and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, over-board,
Into the tumbling billows of the main.
O Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!²

¹ ——*to Burgundy;*] Clarence was desirous to assist his sister Margaret against the French King, who invaded her jointure-lands after the death of her husband, Charles Duke of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Nancy, in January 1476-7. Isabel the wife of Clarence being then dead, (taken off by poison, administered by the Duke of Gloster, as it has been conjectured,) he wished to have married Mary the daughter and heir of the Duke of Burgundy; but the match was opposed by Edward, who hoped to have obtained her for his brother-in-law, Lord Rivers; and this circumstance has been suggested as the principal cause of the breach between Edward and Clarence. Mary of Burgundy however chose a husband for herself, having married in August, 1477, Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick.

MALONE.

² *What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!*] See Mr. Warton's note on Milton's *Lycidas*, v. 157. Milton's *Poems*, second edit. 1791. STEEVENS.

What sights of ugly death³ within mine eyes !
 Methought, I saw a thousand fearful wrecks ;
 A thousand men, that fishes gnaw'd upon ;
 Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
 Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,⁴
 All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea,
 Some lay in dead men's skulls ; and, in those holes
 Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept
 (As 'twere in scorn of eyes,) reflecting gems,
 That woo'd the slimy bottom⁵ of the deep,
 And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

BRAK. Had you such leisure in the time of death,
 To gaze upon these secrets of the deep ?

CLAR. Methought, I had ; and often did I strive
 To yield the ghost : but still the envious flood
 Kept in my soul,⁶ and would not let it forth
 To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air ;⁷

³ *What sights of ugly death —]* Thus the folio. The quarto has—What ugly sights of death. MALONE.

⁴ *Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,]* *Unvalued* is here used for *invaluable*. So, in Lovelace's *Posthumous Poems*, 1659 :

“ — the *unvalew'd* robe she wore,

“ Made infinite lay lovers to adore.” MALONE.

Again, in Chapman's version of the first *Iliad* :

“ _____ to buy,

“ For presents of *unvalued* price, his daughter's libertie.”

Again, in the 15th *Iliad* :

“ Still shaking Jove's *unvalewed* shield,—.” STEEVENS.

⁵ *That woo'd the slimy bottom —]* By seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to ogle it. JOHNSON.

⁶ *Kept in my soul,]* Thus the quarto. The folio—*Stopt in.* MALONE.

⁷ *To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air ;]* Perhaps we should point thus :

“ *To seek the empty vast, and wand'ring air.*

that is, to seek the immense vacuity. *Vast* is used by our author as a substantive in other places. See Vol. IX. p. 214, n. 3.

But smother'd it within my panting bulk,⁸
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.

BRAK. Awak'd you not with this sore agony?

CLAR. O, no, my dream was lengthen'd after
life;

O, then began the tempest to my soul!
I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferryman⁹ which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.

The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
Who cry'd aloud,—*What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?*
And so he vanish'd: Then came wand'ring by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in blood;¹ and he shriek'd out aloud,—

Seek is the reading of the quarto, 1598; the folio has *find*.

MALONE.

— *empty, vast, and wand'ring air;*] *Vast*, is waste, desolate—*vastum per inane*. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *within my panting bulk,*] *Bulk* is often used by Shakespeare and his contemporaries for *body*. So again, in *Hamlet*:

“ — it did seem to shatter all his *bulk*,

“ And end his being.” MALONE.

Bouke is used for the *trunk of the body*, by Chaucer in the *Knight's Tale*, 2748:

“ The clotered blood, for any leche-craft,

“ Corrumpeth, and is in his *bouke* ylast.”

Bouk (i. e. *bulk*) is from the Saxon *BUCE*, *venter*. STEEVENS.

⁹ — *grim ferryman*—] The folio reads—*sour ferryman*.

STEEVENS.

¹ — *with bright hair*

Dabbled in blood;] Lee has transplanted this image into his *Mithridates*, Act IV. sc. i.:

“ I slept; but oh, a dream so full of terror,

“ The pale, the trembling midnight ravisher

“ Ne'er saw, when cold Lucretia's mourning shadow

Clarence is come,—false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence,²—

*That stabb'd me in the field by Tewksbury;—
Seize on him, furies, take him to your torments!—
With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
Environ'd me,³ and howled in mine ears
Such hideous cries, that, with the very noise,
I trembling wak'd, and, for a season after,
Could not believe but that I was in hell;
Such terrible impression made my dream.*

BRAK. No marvel, lord, though it affrighted
you;
I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

CLAR. O, Brakenbury, I have done these things,—
That now give evidence against my soul,—
For Edward's sake; and, see, how he requites
me!—

“ His curtains drew, and lash'd him in his eyes
“ With her bright tresses, dabbled in her blood.”

STEEVENS.

³ —— *fleeting, perjur'd Clarence,*] *Fleeting* is the same as
changing sides. JOHNSON.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ —— now the *fleeting moon*
“ *No planet is of mine.*”

Clarence broke his oath with the Earl of Warwick, and joined
the army of his brother King Edward IV. See p. 178.

STEEVENS.

³ —— *a legion of foul fiends*

Environ'd me, &c.] Milton seems to have thought on this
passage where he is describing the midnight sufferings of *Our
Saviour*, in the 4th Book of *Paradise Regain'd*:

“ —— nor yet stay'd the terror there,
“ Infernal ghosts, and hellish furies, round
“ Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some
shriek'd—.” STEEVENS.

O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,⁴
 But thou wilt be aveng'd on my misdeeds,
 Yet execute thy wrath on me alone :
 O, spare my guiltless wife,⁵ and my poor children!—
 I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me ;⁶
 My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

BRAK. I will, my lord; God give your grace
 good rest!—

[CLARENCE *reposes himself on a Chair.*

Sorrow breaks seasons,⁷ and reposing hours,
 Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.
 Princes have but their titles for their glories,
 An outward honour for an inward toil ;⁸

⁴ *O God! if my deep prayers &c.]* The four following lines have been added since the first edition. POPE.

They are found in the folio, but not in the quarto. MALONE.

⁵ — *my guiltless wife,*] The wife of Clarence died before he was apprehended and confined in the Tower. See p. 322, n. 1. MALONE.

⁶ *I pray thee, gentle keeper, &c.]* So the quarto, 1598. The folio reads :

“ Keeper, I pr'ythee, sit by me a while.” MALONE.

⁷ *Sorrow breaks seasons, &c.]* In the common editions, the Keeper is made to hold the dialogue with Clarence till this line. And here Brakenbury enters, pronouncing these words ; which seem to me a reflection naturally resulting from the foregoing conversation, and therefore continued to be spoken by the same person, as it is accordingly in the first edition. POPE.

The Keeper introduced in the quarto 1598, was, in fact, Brakenbury, who was Lieutenant of the Tower. There can be no doubt therefore that the text, which is regulated according to the quarto, is right. MALONE.

⁸ *Princes have but their titles for their glories,
 An outward honour for an inward toil ;]* The first line may be understood in this sense, *The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles*: but it would more impress the purpose of the speaker, and correspond better with the following lines, if it were read :

Princes have but their titles for their troubles. JOHNSON.

And, for unfelt imaginations,
 They often feel a world of restless cares :⁹
 So that, between their titles, and low name,
 There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the Two Murderers.

1 MURD. Ho ! who's here ?

BRAK. What would'st thou, fellow ? and how
 cam'st thou hither ?

1 MURD. I would speak with Clarence, and I
 came hither on my legs.

BRAK. What, so brief ?

2 MURD. O, sir, 'tis better to be brief than
 tedious :—

Let him see our commission ; talk no more.¹

[*A Paper is delivered to BRAKENBURY, who reads it.*

BRAK. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
 The noble duke of Clarence to your hands :—
 I will not reason what is meant hereby,
 Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.
 Here are the keys ;²—there sits the duke asleep :

⁹ ————— for unfelt imaginations,

They often feel a world of restless cares :] They often suffer
 real miseries for imaginary and unreal gratifications. JOHNSON.

¹ *Let him see our commission ; &c.]* Thus the second folio.
 Other copies, with measure equally defective—

“ Show him our commission, talk no more.”

STEEVENS.

² *Here are the keys ; &c.]* So the quarto, 1598. The folio
 reads :

“ There lies the duke asleep, and there the keys.”

MALONE.

I'll to the king ; and signify to him,
That thus I have resign'd to you my charge.

1 MURD. You may, sir ; 'tis a point of wisdom :
Fare you well. [Exit BRAKENBURY.]

2 MURD. What, shall we stab him as he sleeps ?

1 MURD. No ; he'll say, 'twas done cowardly,
when he wakes.

2 MURD. When he wakes ! why, fool, he shall
never wake until the great judgment day.

1 MURD. Why, then he'll say, we stabb'd him
sleeping.

2 MURD. The urging of that word, judgment,
hath bred a kind of remorse in me.

1 MURD. What ? art thou afraid ?

2 MURD. Not to kill him, having a warrant for
it ; but to be damn'd for killing him, from the
which no warrant can defend me.

1 MURD. I thought, thou had'st been resolute.

2 MURD. So I am, to let him live.

1 MURD. I'll back to the duke of Gloster, and
tell him so.

2 MURD. Nay, I pr'ythee, stay a little : I hope,
this holy humour of mine³ will change ; it was wont
to hold me but while one would tell twenty.

³ — *this holy humour of mine —]* Thus the early quarto.
The folio has—*this passionate humour of mine*, for which the
modern editors have substituted *compassionate*, unnecessarily.
Passionate, though not so good an epithet as that which is fur-
nished by the quarto, is sufficiently intelligible. See Vol. X.
p. 406, n. 4.

The second murderer's next speech proves that *holy* was the
author's word. The player editors probably changed it, as they
did many others, on account of the Statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. A

1 MURD. How dost thou feel thyself now?

2 MURD. 'Faith, some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me.

1 MURD. Remember our reward, when the deed's done.

2 MURD. Come, he dies; I had forgot the reward.

1 MURD. Where's thy conscience now?

2 MURD. In the duke of Gloster's purse.

1 MURD. So, when he opens his purse to give us our reward, thy conscience flies out.

2 MURD. 'Tis no matter; let it go; there's few, or none, will entertain it.

1 MURD. What, if it come to thee again?

2 MURD. I'll not meddle with it, it is a dangerous thing, it makes a man a coward; a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him: 'Tis a blushing shame-faced spirit, that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills one full of obstacles: it made me once restore a purse of gold, that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it: it is turned out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man, that means to live well, endeavours to trust to himself, and live without it.

1 MURD. 'Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke.

2 MURD. Take the devil in thy mind, and believe

little lower, they, from the same apprehension, omitted the word 'faith.' MALONE.

him not: he would insinuate with thee, but to make thee sigh.⁴

1 MURD. I am strong-fram'd,⁵ he cannot prevail with me.

2 MURD. Spoke like a tall fellow,⁶ that respects his reputation. Come, shall we fall to work?

1 MURD. Take him over the costard⁷ with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt, in the next room.

2 MURD. O excellent device! and make a sop of him.

** Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would insinuate with thee, &c.]* One villain says, *Conscience* is at his elbows, persuading him not to kill the duke. The other says, take the devil into thy nearer acquaintance, *into thy mind*, who will be a match for thy conscience, and believe it not, &c. It is plain then, that *him* in both places in the text should be *it*, namely, conscience. WARBURTON.

Shakspeare so frequently uses both these pronouns indiscriminately, that no correction is necessary. STEEVENS.

In *The Merchant of Venice* we have a long dialogue between Launcelot, his *Conscience*, and the Devil. But though conscience were not here personified, Shakspeare would have used *him* instead of *it*. He does so in almost every page of these plays. MALONE.

** I am strong-fram'd,]* Thus the folio. The quarto reads—I am strong in fraud. MALONE.

** Spoke like a tall fellow,]* The meaning of *tall*, in old English, is stout, daring, fearless, and strong. JOHNSON.

So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

“—good soldiers, and tall fellows.” STEEVENS.

? — the costard —] i. e. the head; a name adopted from an apple shaped like a man's head. So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

“One and two rounds at his costard.”

Hence likewise the term—*costar-monger*. See Vol. VII. p. 56, n. 3. STEEVENS.

1 MURD. Soft! he wakes.

2 MURD. Strike.

1 MURD. No, we'll reason⁸ with him.

CLAR. Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup
of wine.

1 MURD. You shall have wine enough, my lord,
anon.

CLAR. In God's name, what art thou?

1 MURD. A man, as you are.

CLAR. But not, as I am, royal.

1 MURD. Nor you, as we are, loyal.

CLAR. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are
humble.

1 MURD. My voice is now the king's, my looks
mine own.

CLAR. How darkly, and how deadly dost thou
speak!

Your eyes do menace me: Why look you pale?
Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

BOTH MURD. To, to, to,—

CLAR. To murder me?

BOTH MURD. Ay, ay.

CLAR. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

1 MURD. Offended us you have not, but the
king.

CLAR. I shall be reconcil'd to him again.

⁸ —— *we'll reason* —] We'll talk. JOHNSON.

So, in *The Merchant of Venice*:

“I reason'd with a Frenchman yesterday.” STEEVENS.

2 MURD. Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

CLAR. Are you call'd forth from out a world of men,⁹

To slay the innocent? What is my offence?
Where is the evidence that doth accuse me?
What lawful quest¹ have given their verdict up
Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd
The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death?
Before I be convict by course of law,²
To threaten me with death is most unlawful.

⁹ *Are you call'd forth from out a world of men,]* I think it may be better read:

Are ye cull'd forth — — — — —. JOHNSON.

The folio reads:

“Are you drawn forth among a world of men.”

I adhere to the reading now in the text. So, in *Nobody and Somebody*, 1598:

“Art thou call'd forth amongst a thousand men

“To minister this soveraigne antidote?” STEEVENS.

The reading of the text is that of the quarto, 1598.

MALONE.

¹ *What lawful quest —] Quest is inquest or jury.*

JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“— crowner's quest law.” STEEVENS.

² *Before I be convict &c.]* Shakspeare has followed the current tale of his own time, in supposing that Clarence was imprisoned by Edward, and put to death by order of his brother Richard, without trial or condemnation. But the truth is, that he was tried and found guilty by his Peers, and a bill of attainder was afterwards passed against him. According to Sir Thomas More, his death was commanded by Edward; but he does not assert that the Duke of Gloster was the instrument. Polydore Virgil says, though he talked with several persons who lived at the time, he never could get any certain account of the motives that induced Edward to put his brother to death. See p. 322, n. 1. MALONE.

I charge you, as you hope for any goodness,³
 By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,
 That you depart, and lay no hands on me ;
 The deed you undertake is damnable.

1 MURD. What we will do, we do upon command.

2 MURD. And he, that hath commanded, is our king.

CLAR. Erroneous vassal ! the great King of kings
 Hath in the table of his law commanded,
 That thou shalt do no murder ; Wilt thou then
 Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's ?
 Take heed ; for he holds vengeance in his hand,
 To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

2 MURD. And that same vengeance doth he hurl
 on thee,
 For false forswearing, and for murder too :
 Thou didst receive the sacrament, to fight
 In quarrel of the house of Lancaster.

1 MURD. And, like a traitor to the name of God,
 Didst break that vow ; and, with thy treacherous
 blade,
 Unrip'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

2 MURD. Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and
 defend.

1 MURD. How canst thou urge God's dreadful
 law to us,

³ — as you hope for any goodness,] The quarto reads :
 “ As you hope to have redemption.”

I have adopted the former words, for the sake of introducing variety; the idea of *redemption* being comprised in the very next line. STEEVENS.

This arbitrary alteration was made, and the subsequent line was omitted, by the editors of the folio, to avoid the penalty of the Stat. 3. Jac. c. 21. MALONE.

When thou hast broke it in such dear⁴ degree?

CLAR. Alas! for whose sake did I that ill deed?
 For Edward, for my brother, for his sake:
 He sends you not to murder me for this;
 For in that sin he is as deep as I.
 If God will be avenged for the deed,
 O, know you, that he doth it publickly;⁵
 Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm;
 He needs no indirect nor lawless course,
 To cut off those that have offended him.

1 *MURD.* Who made thee then a bloody minister,
 When gallant-springing, brave Plantagenet,⁶
 That princely novice,⁷ was struck dead by thee?

CLAR. My brother's love, the devil, and my rage.

1 *MURD.* Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy
 fault,
 Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

⁴ —— *dear* —] This is a word of mere enforcement, and very frequently occurs, with different shades of meaning, in our author. So, in *Timon of Athens*:

“ And strain what other means is left unto us,

“ In our *dear* peril.” STEEVENS.

⁵ *O, know you, that &c.*] The old copies—*O, know you yet,—but we should read—that instead of yet.* In the MS. copy *that* would naturally have been written *y^t.* Hence the mistake, which I have corrected, by the advice of Dr. Farmer.

STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *springing,—Plantagenet,*] Blooming Plantagenet; a prince in the *spring* of life. JOHNSON.

So, in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender*, 1579:

“ That wouldest me my *springing* youth to spill.”

MALONE.

When gallant, springing,] This should be printed as one word, I think;—*gallant-springing.* Shakspeare is fond of these compound epithets, in which the first adjective is to be considered as an adverb. So, in this play, he uses *childish-foolish, senseless-obstinate, and mortal-staring.* TYRWHITT.

⁷ —— *novice,*] Youth; one yet *new* to the world. JOHNSON.

CLAR. If you do love my brother, hate not me;
I am his brother, and I love him well.
If you are hir'd for meed,⁸ go back again,
And I will send you to my brother Gloster ;
Who shall reward you better for my life,
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

2 MURD. You are deceiv'd, your brother Gloster
hates you.⁹

CLAR. O, no ; he loves me, and he holds me
dear :

Go you to him from me.

BOTH MURD. Ay, so we will.

CLAR. Tell him, when that our princely father
York

Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charg'd us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship :
Bid Gloster think on this, and he will weep.

⁸ *If you are hir'd for meed,*] Thus the quarto 1597 and the folio. The quarto 1598, reads—*If you be hired for need;* which is likewise sense : If it be *necessity* which induces you to commit this murder. MALONE.

⁹ —*your brother Gloster hates you.*] Mr. Walpole, some years ago, suggested from the Chronicle of Croyland, that the true cause of Gloster's hatred to Clarence was, that Clarence was unwilling to share with his brother that moiety of the estate of the great Earl of Warwick, to which Gloster became entitled on his marriage with the younger sister of the Duchess of Clarence, Lady Anne Neville, who had been betrothed to Edward Prince of Wales. This account of the matter is fully confirmed by a letter, dated Feb. 14, 1471-2, which has been lately published. *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 91: “ Yesterday the king, the queen, my lords of Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to pardon ; men say, not all in charity. The king entreateth my lord of Clarence for my lord of Gloucester ; and, as it is said, he answereth, that he may well have my lady his sister-in-law, but *they shall part no livelihood*, as he saith ; so, what will fall, can I not say.” MALONE.

1 MURD. Ay, mill-stones;¹ as he lesson'd us to weep.

CLAR. O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

1 MURD. Right, as snow in harvest.—Come, you deceive yourself;

'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here.

CLAR. It cannot be; for he bewept my fortune,
And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with sobs,
That he would labour my delivery.

1 MURD. Why, so he doth, when he delivers you
From this earth's thraldom to the joys of heaven.

2 MURD. Make peace with God, for you must die, my lord.

CLAR. Hast thou that holy feeling in thy soul,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,
And art thou yet to thy own soul so blind,
That thou wilt war with God, by murdering me?—
Ah, sirs, consider, he, that set you on
To do this deed, will hate you for the deed.

2 MURD. What shall we do?

CLAR. Relent, and save your souls.²

1 MURD. Relent! 'tis cowardly, and womanish.

CLAR. Not to relent, is beastly, savage, devilish.—
Which of you, if you were a prince's son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,—

¹ — he will weep.

1 Murd. *Ay, mill-stones;*] So, in Massinger's *City Madam*:

“ — He, good gentleman,

“ Will weep when he hears how we are used.—

“ Yes, *mill-stones.*” STEEVENS.

² — and save your souls. &c.] The six following lines are not in the old edition. [i. e. the quarto.] POPE.

They are not necessary, but so forced in, that something seems omitted to which these lines are the answer. JOHNSON.

If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,—
Would not entreat for life?—

My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks;
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my distress.
A begging prince what beggar pities not?³

2 MURD. Look behind you, my lord.

³ — *what beggar pities not?*] I cannot but suspect that the lines, which Mr. Pope observed not to be in the old edition, are now misplaced, and should be inserted here, somewhat after this manner:

Clar. *A begging prince what beggar pities not?*

Vil. *A begging prince!*

Clar. *Which of you, if you were a prince's son, &c.*

Upon this provocation, the villain naturally strikes him.

JOHNSON.

Mr. Pope's note is not accurately stated. I believe this passage should be regulated thus:

Clar. Relent and save your souls.

1 Vil. Relent! 'tis cowardly and womanish.

Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.

Which of you if you were a prince's son,

Being pent—

If two such—

Would not entreat for life?

My friend, I spy—

O, if thine eye—

Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,

As you would beg, were you in my distress.

A begging prince what beggar pities not. TYRWHITT.

I think with Mr. Tyrwhitt that these lines have been inserted in a wrong place. MALONE.

I have regulated the text according to Mr. Tyrwhitt's instruction. STEEVENS.

A begging prince what beggar pities not?] To this, in the quarto, the Murderer replies:

"I, thus and thus: if this will not serve

"I'll chop thee in the malmesey but in the next roome."

and then stabs him. STEEVENS.

1 MURD. Take that, and that; if all this will not do, [Stabs him.
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within.

[Exit, with the Body.

2 MURD. A bloody deed, and desperately despatch'd!

How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
Of this most grievous guilty murder done!

Re-enter first Murderer.

1 MURD. How now? what mean'st thou, that thou help'st me not?
By heaven, the duke shall know how slack you have been.

2 MURD. I would he knew, that I had sav'd his brother!
Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say;
For I repent me that the duke is slain. [Exit.

1 MURD. So do not I; go, coward, as thou art.—
Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole,
Till that the duke give order for his burial:
And when I have my meed, I will away;
For this will out, and then I must not stay. [Exit.

ACT II. SCENE I.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter King EDWARD, (led in sick,) Queen ELIZABETH, DORSET, RIVERS, HASTINGS, BUCKINGHAM, GREY, and Others.

K. EDW. Why, so:—now have I done a good day's work;—

You peers, continue this united league: I every day expect an embassage From my Redeemer to redeem me hence; And more in peace⁴ my soul shall part to heaven, Since I have made my friends at peace on earth. Rivers, and Hastings, take each other's hand; Dissemble not your hatred,⁵ swear your love.

RIV. By heaven, my soul is purg'd from grudging hate; And with my hand I seal my true heart's love.

HAST. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like!

K. EDW. Take heed, you dally not before your king; Lest he, that is the supreme King of kings,

⁴ *And more in peace—]* The folio—*more to peace.* The quarto—*And now in peace—.* STEEVENS.

⁵ *Dissemble not your hatred,]* i. e. do not gloss it over.

STEEVENS.

I suppose he means, Divest yourselves of that concealed hatred which you have heretofore secretly borne to each other. Do not merely, says Edward, conceal and cover over your secret ill will to each other by a show of love, but eradicate hatred altogether from your bosoms. MALONE.

Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
Either of you to be the other's end.

HAST. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love !

RIV. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart !

K. EDW. Madam, yourself are not exempt in
this,—

Nor your son Dorset,—Buckingham, nor you ;—
You have been factious one against the other.
Wife, love lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand ;
And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

Q. ELIZ. There, Hastings ;—I will never more
remember
Our former hatred, So thrive I, and mine !

K. EDW. Dorset, embrace him,—Hastings, love
lord marquis.

DOR. This interchange of love, I here protest,
Upon my part shall be inviolable.

HAST. And so swear I. [Embraces DORSET.]

K. EDW. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou
this league
With thy embraces to my wife's allies,
And make me happy in your unity.

BUCK. Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate
Upon your grace, [To the Queen.] but with all du-
teous love

Doth cherish you, and yours, God punish me
With hate in those where I expect most love !
When I have most need to employ a friend,
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
Be he unto me ! this do I beg of heaven,
When I am cold in love, to you, or yours.

[Embracing RIVERS, &c.

K. EDW. A pleasing cordial, princely Bucking-ham,

Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart.

There wanteth now our brother Gloster here,
To make the blessed period of this peace.

BUCK. And, in good time, here comes the noble duke.⁶

Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Good-morrow to my sovereign king, and queen;

And, princely peers, a happy time of day!

K. EDW. Happy, indeed, as we have spent the day:—

Brother, we have done deeds of charity;
Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,
Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

GLO. A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege.—
Among this princely heap, if any here,
By false intelligence, or wrong surmise,
Hold me a foe;
If I unwittingly, or in my rage,⁷
Have aught committed that is hardly borne

⁶ —— *here comes the noble duke.*] So the quarto. The folio reads:

“ And in good time

“ Here comes Sir Richard Ratcliffe and the duke.”

MALONE.

⁷ *If I unwittingly, or in my rage,*] So the quarto. Folio—*unwillingly.* This line and the preceding hemistick are printed in the old copies, as one line; a mistake that has very frequently happened in the early editions of these plays. Mr. Pope, by whose licentious alterations our author’s text was much corrupted, omitted the words—*or in my rage;* in which he has been followed by all the subsequent editors. MALONE.

By any in this presence, I desire
 To reconcile me to his friendly peace :
 'Tis death to me, to be at enmity ;
 I hate it, and desire all good men's love.—
 First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,
 Which I will purchase with my dutious service ;—
 Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,
 If ever any grudge were lodg'd between us ;—
 Of you, lord Rivers,—and lord Grey, of you,—
 That all without desert have frown'd on me;⁸—
 Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen ; indeed, of all.
 I do not know⁹ that Englishman alive,
 With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
 More than the infant that is born to-night ;
 I thank my God for my humility.

* — *frown'd on me ;*] I have followed the original copy in quarto. The folio adds—

“ Of you, lord Woodville, and lord Scales, of you ;”

The eldest son of Earl Rivers was Lord Scales ; but there was no such person as Lord Woodville. MALONE.

⁹ *I do not know &c.]* Milton in his ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΕΣ, has this observation : “ The poets, and some English, have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closet companion of these his solitudes, William Shakspeare ; who introduced the person of Richard the Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage in this book, and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place ; *I intended, saith he, not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies.* The like saith Richard, Act II. sc. i :

“ I do not know that Englishman alive,

“ With whom my soul is any jot at odds,

“ More than the infant that is born to-night ;

“ I thank my God for my humility.”

“ Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion.” STEEVENS.

Q. ELIZ. A holy-day shall this be kept hereafter :—

I would to God, all strifes were well compounded.—
My sovereign lord, I do beseech your highness
To take our brother Clarence to your grace.

GLO. Why, madam, have I offer'd love for this,
To be so flouted in this royal presence?

Who knows not, that the gentle duke is dead?

[They all start.]

You do him injury, to scorn his corse.

K. EDW. Who knows not, he is dead! who knows
he is?

Q. ELIZ. All-seeing heaven, what a world is this!

BUCK. Look I so pale, lord Dorset, as the rest?

DOR. Ay, my good lord; and no man in the
presence,

But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks.

K. EDW. Is Clarence dead? the order was re-
vers'd.

GLO. But he, poor man, by your first order died,
And that a winged Mercury did bear;
Some tardy cripple bore the countermand,¹
That came too lag to see him buried :—
God grant, that some, less noble, and less loyal,
Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,²

¹ Some tardy cripple &c.] This is an allusion to a proverbial expression which Drayton has versified in the second canto of *The Barons' Wars*:

“ Ill news hath wings, and with the wind doth go;

“ Comfort's a cripple, and comes ever slow.”

STEEVENS.

² Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,] In *Macbeth* we have the same play on words:

“ — the near in blood,

“ The nearer bloody.” STEEVENS.

Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,
And yet go current from suspicion !

Enter STANLEY.

STAN. A boon, my sovereign, for my service
done !

K. EDW. I pr'ythee, peace ; my soul is full of
sorrow.

STAN. I will not rise, unless your highness hear
me.

K. EDW. Then say at once, what is it thou re-
quest'st.

STAN. The forfeit,³ sovereign, of my servant's
life ;

Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman,
Lately attendant on the duke of Norfolk.

K. EDW. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's
death,⁴

And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave ?
My brother kill'd no man, his fault was thought,
And yet his punishment was bitter death.
Who sued to me for him ?⁵ who, in my wrath,

³ *The forfeit,*] He means the *remission* of the forfeit.

JOHNSON.

⁴ *Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,*] This lamentation is very tender and pathetick. The recollection of the good qualities of the dead is very natural, and no less naturally does the King endeavour to communicate the crime to others.

JOHNSON.

⁵ *Who sued to me for him ? &c.*] This pathetick speech is founded on this slight hint in Sir Thomas More's *History of Edward V.* inserted by Holinshed in his *Chronicle* : " Sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death, yet he much did both lament his unfortunate chance, and repent his sudden execution. Insomuch that when any person sued to him

Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advis'd?⁶
 Who spoke of brotherhood? who spoke of love?
 Who told me, how the poor soul did forsake
 The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me?
 Who told me, in the field at Tewksbury,
 When Oxford had me down, he rescu'd me,
 And said, *Dear brother, live, and be a king?*
 Who told me, when we both lay in the field,
 Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me
 Even in his garments; and did give himself,
 All thin and naked, to the numb-cold night?
 All this from my remembrance brutish wrath
 Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you
 Had so much grace to put it in my mind.
 But, when your carters, or your waiting-vassals,
 Have done a drunken slaughter, and defac'd
 The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
 You straight are on your knees for pardon, pardon;
 And I, unjustly too, must grant it you:—
 But for my brother, not a man would speak,—
 Nor I (ungracious) speak unto myself
 For him, poor soul.—The proudest of you all
 Have been beholding to him in his life;
 Yet none of you would once plead for his life.—
 O God! I fear, thy justice will take hold
 On me, and you, and mine, and yours, for this.—

for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomable say, and openly speake, O infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make suite! openly and apparently meaning by suche words that by the means of some of the nobilitie he was deceived, and brought to his confusion.”

MALONE.

⁶ —— *be advis'd?*] i. e. deliberate; consider what I was about to do. So, in *The Letters of the Paston Family*, Vol. II. p. 279: “Written in haste with short *advisement*,” &c. See also, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Vol. IV. p. 227, n. 5.

MALONE.

Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.⁷ O,
Poor Clarence!

[*Exeunt King, Queen, Hastings, Rivers,*
Dorset, and Grey.

GLO. This is the fruit of rashness!—Mark'd you
not,

How that the guilty kindred of the queen
Look'd pale, when they did hear of Clarence'
death?

O! they did urge it still unto the king:
God will revenge it. Come, lords; will you go,
To comfort Edward with our company?

BUCK. We wait upon your grace. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

The same.

Enter the Duchess of York,⁸ with a Son and Daughter of Clarence.

Son. Good grandam, tell us, is our father dead?

Duch. No, boy.

Daugh. Why do you weep so oft? and beat your
breast;

And cry—*O Clarence, my unhappy son!*

⁷ *Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.*] Hastings was Lord Chamberlain to King Edward IV. MALONE.

⁸ *Enter the Duchess of York,*] Cecily, daughter of Ralph Neville first Earl of Westmoreland, and widow of Richard Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield in 1460. She survived her husband thirty-five years, living till the year 1495. MALONE.

Son. Why do you look on us, and shake your head,
And call us—orphans, wretches, cast-aways,
If that our noble father be alive?

Duch. My pretty cousins,⁹ you mistake me both;
I do lament the sickness of the king,
As loath to lose him, not your father's death;
It were lost sorrow, to wail one that's lost.

Son. Then, grandam, you conclude that he is dead.

The king my uncle is to blame for this:
God will revenge it; whom I will importune
With earnest prayers all to that effect.

Daugh. And so will I.

Duch. Peace, children, peace! the king doth love you well:
Incapable and shallow innocents,¹
You cannot guess who caus'd your father's death.

Son. Grandam, we can: for my good uncle Glos-
ter
Told me, the king, provok'd to't by the queen,
Devis'd impeachments to imprison him:
And when my uncle told me so, he wept,
And pitied me, and kindly kiss'd my cheek;

⁹ *My pretty cousins,*] The Duchess is here addressing her grand-children, but *cousin* was the term used in Shakspeare's time, by uncles to nephews and nieces, grandfathers to grandchildren, &c. It seems to have been used instead of our *kinsman*, and *kinswoman*, and to have supplied the place of both.

MALONE.

See note on *Othello*, Act I. sc. i. STEEVENS.

¹ *Incapable and shallow innocents,*] *Incapable* is unintelligent.
MALONE.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“ As one incapable of her own distress.” STEEVENS.

Bade me rely on him, as on my father,
And he would love me dearly as his child.

DUCH. Ah, that deceit should steal such gentle
shapes,

And with a virtuous visor hide deep vice !
He is my son, ay, and therein my shame,
Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit.

SON. Think you, my uncle did dissemble,² gran-
dam ?

DUCH. Ay, boy.

SON. I cannot think it. Hark ! what noise is
this ?

*Enter Queen ELIZABETH, distractedly ; RIVERS,
and DORSET, following her.*

Q. ELIZ. Ah ! who shall hinder me to wail and
weep ?

To chide my fortune, and torment myself ?
I'll join with black despair against my soul,
And to myself become an enemy.

DUCH. What means this scene of rude impa-
tience ?

Q. ELIZ. To make an act of tragick violence :—
Edward, my lord, thy son, our king, is dead.—
Why grow the branches, when the root is gone ?—
Why wither not the leaves, that want their sap ?—
If you will live, lament ; if die, be brief ;
That our swift-winged souls may catch the king's ;

* ——my uncle did dissemble,] Shakspeare uses *dissemble* in
the sense of acting fraudulently, feigning what we do not feel or
think ; though strictly it means to conceal our real thoughts or
affections. So also Milton in the passage quoted in p. 342, n. 9.

Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
To his new kingdom of perpetual rest.³

DUCH. Ah, so much interest have I in thy sorrow,

As I had title in thy noble husband !
I have bewept a worthy husband's death,
And liv'd by looking on his images :⁴
But now, two mirrors of his princely semblance
Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death ;⁵
And I for comfort have but one false glass,
That grieves me when I see my shame in him.
Thou art a widow ; yet thou art a mother,
And hast the comfort of thy children left thee :
But death hath snatch'd my husband from my
arms,
And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble hands,
Clarence, and Edward. O, what cause have I,
(Thine being but a moiety of my grief,)
To over-go thy plaints, and drown thy cries ?

Son. Ah, aunt ! you wept not for our father's
death ;

³ —— of perpetual rest.] So the quarto. The folio reads—
of ne'er changing night. MALONE.

⁴ —— his images :] The children by whom he was represented.
JOHNSON.

So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, Lucretius says to his daughter :
“ O, from thy cheeks my image thou hast torn.”

MALONE.

⁵ But now, two mirrors of his princely semblance
Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death ;] So, in our au-
thor's *Rape of Lucrece* :

“ Poor broken glass, I often did behold

“ In thy sweet semblance my old age new born ;

“ But now, that fair fresh mirror, dim and old,

“ Shows me a bare-bon'd death by time out-worn.”

Again, in his 3d Sonnet :

“ Thou art thy mother's glass,” &c. MALONE.

How can we aid you with our kindred tears?

DAUGH. Our fatherless distress was left unmoan'd,
Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept!

Q. ELIZ. Give me no help in lamentation,
I am not barren to bring forth laments :
All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
That I, being govern'd by the watry moon,⁶
May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world!
Ah, for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

CHIL. Ah, for our father, for our dear lord Clarence!

DUCH. Alas, for both, both mine, Edward and Clarence!

Q. ELIZ. What stay had I, but Edward? and he's gone.

CHIL. What stay had we, but Clarence? and he's gone.

DUCH. What stays had I, but they? and they are gone.

Q. ELIZ. Was never widow, had so dear a loss.

CHIL. Were never orphans, had so dear a loss.

DUCH. Was never mother had so dear a loss.
Alas! I am the mother of these griefs ;
Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general.
She for an Edward weeps, and so do I ;
I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she :

⁶ —— *being govern'd by the watry moon,*] That I may live hereafter under the influence of the moon, which governs the tides, and by the help of that influence drown the world. The introduction of the moon is not very natural. JOHNSON.

The same thought has already occurred in *K. Henry IV. P. I.*:
“ —— *being governed, as the sea is, by the moon.*”

These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I:⁷
I for an Edward weep, so do not they:⁸—

⁷ — and so do I:] So the quarto. - The variation of the folio is remarkable. It reads—so do not they. MALONE.

⁸ I for an Edward weep, so do not they:] The text is here made out partly from the folio and partly from the quarto. In the quarto this and the preceding line stand thus:

“ These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;
“ I for an Edward weep, and so do they.”

The end of the second line is evidently corrupted. In the MS. from which the folio was printed, or in a corrected quarto copy, the two lines undoubtedly were right:

“ These babes for Clarence weep, [and so do I;
“ I for an Edward weep,] so do NOT they.”

But the compositor's eye passing over two half lines, the passage was printed thus in the folio, in one line:

“ These babes for Clarence weep, so do not they.”

I have stated this matter thus particularly, because it confirms an observation that I have more than once had occasion to make in revising these plays; that there is reason to suspect that many of the difficulties in our author's works have arisen from the omission of either single words, single lines, or the latter half of one line with the half of the next: a solution which readers are very slow to admit, and generally consider as chimerical. One week's acquaintance with the business of the press (without those proofs which a collation of the quartos with each other and with the first folio affords,) would soon convince them that my supposition is not a mere offspring of imagination. In the plays, of which there is no authentick copy but the first folio, there is no means of proving such omissions to have happened; but the present and other proofs of their having actually happened in the other plays, lay surely a reasonable ground for conjecturing that similar errors have happened in those pieces, of which there is only a single ancient copy extant, and entitle such conjectures to indulgence.

See Vol. VI. p. 188, n. 3; Vol. X. p. 102, n. 9; Vol. XI. p. 59, n. 2, and p. 376, n. 3; Vol. XIII. p. 313, n. 7; *Coriolanus*, Vol. XVI. Act II. sc. iii. and *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV. sc. x.

In this note, and throughout this play, where I have spoken of the quarto, without any specification of the year when printed, I meant the quarto 1598, the earliest which I had then seen. The quarto 1597, I find, corresponds with the text. MALONE.

Alas! you three, on me, threefold distress'd,
 Pour all your tears, I am your sorrow's nurse,
 And I will pamper it with lamentations.

DOR. Comfort, dear mother; God is much dis-
 pleas'd,⁹

That you take with unthankfulness his doing;
 In common worldly things, 'tis call'd—ungrateful,
 With dull unwillingness to repay a debt,
 Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
 Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,¹
 For it requires² the royal debt it lent you.

RIV. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mo-
 ther,
 Of the young prince your son: send straight for
 him,
 Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:
 Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
 And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.

*Enter GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HAST-
 INGS, RATCLIFF, and Others.*

GLO. Sister, have comfort: all of us have cause
 To wail the dimming of our shining star;
 But none can cure their harms by wailing them.—
 Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy,
 I did not see your grace:—Humbly on my knee
 I crave your blessing.

⁹ *Comfort, dear mother; &c.]* This line and the following eleven lines are found only in the folio. MALONE.

¹ — to be thus opposite with heaven,] This was the phraseology of the time. See Vol. V. p. 331, n. 7. MALONE.

² For it requires—] i. e. because. So, in *Othello*:
 “Haply, for I am black——.” STEEVENS.

DUCH. God bless thee ; and put meekness in thy breast,
Love, charity, obedience, and true duty !

GLO. Amen ; and make me die a good old man !—
That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing ;

[*Aside.*

I marvel, that her grace did leave it out.

BUCK. You cloudy princes, and heart sorrowing peers,
That bear this mutual heavy load of moan,
Now cheer each other in each other's love :
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.

The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,
But lately splinted, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept :³
Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd⁴

Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.

³ *The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,*
But lately splinted, knit, and join'd together,

Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept :] As this passage stands, it is the rancour of their hearts that is to be preserv'd and cherished.—But we must not attempt to amend this mistake, as it seems to proceed from the inadvertency of Shakespeare himself. M. MASON.

Their broken *rancour* recently *splinted* and *knit*, the poet considers as a *new league of amity and concord* ; and this it is that Buckingham exhorts them to preserve. MALONE.

⁴ *Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd—]* Edward the young prince, in his father's life time, and at his demise, kept his household at Ludlow, as Prince of Wales ; under the governance of Antony Woodville, Earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side. The intention of his being sent thither was to see justice done in the Marches ; and, by the authority of

RIV. Why with⁵ some little train, my lord of Buckingham?

BUCK. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is green, and yet ungo-
vern'd:

Where every horse bears his commanding rein,
And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm, as harm apparent,
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.

GLO. I hope, the king made peace with all of
us;

And the compact is firm, and true, in me.

RIV. And so in me;⁶ and so, I think, in all:
Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which, haply, by much company might be urg'd:
Therefore I say, with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

HAST. And so say I.

GLO. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.
Madam,—and you my mother,—will you go

his presence, to restrain the Welshmen, who were wild, dissolute, and ill-disposed, from their accustomed murders and outrages. Vid. Hall, Holinshed, &c. THEOBALD.

⁵ *Why with &c.]* This line and the following seventeen lines are found only in the folio. MALONE.

⁶ *Riv. And so in me;]* This speech (as a modern editor has observed,) seems rather to belong to Hastings, who was of the Duke of Gloster's party. The next speech might be given to Stanley. MALONE.

To give your censures⁷ in this weighty business?

[*Exeunt all but BUCKINGHAM and GLOSTER.*

BUCK. My lord, whoever journeys to the prince,
For God's sake, let not us two stay at home:
For, by the way, I'll sort occasion,
As index to the story⁸ we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the prince.

GLO. My other self, my counsel's consistory,
My oracle, my prophet!—My dear cousin,
I, as a child, will go by thy direction.
Towards Ludlow then,⁹ for we'll not stay behind.

[*Exeunt.*

⁷ —— *your censures*—] To *censure* formerly meant to *deliver an opinion*. So, in Heywood's *Golden Age*, 1611 :

“ — yet if I *censure* freely,

“ I needs must think that face and personage

“ Was ne'er deriv'd from baseness.”

Again, in *Marius and Sylla*, 1594 :

“ Cinna affirms the senate's *censure* just,

“ And saith, let Marius lead the legions forth.”

Again, in *Orlando Furioso*, 1594 :

“ Set each man forth his passions how he can,

“ And let her *censure* make the happiest man.”

STEEVENS.

⁸ *I'll sort occasion,*

As index to the story—] i. e. preparatory—by way of prelude. So, in *Hamlet* :

“ That storms so loud and thunders in the *index*.”

See the note on that passage. MALONE.

Again, in *Othello* : “ — an *index* and obscure prologue to the history of lust and foul thoughts.” STEEVENS.

⁹ *Towards Ludlow then*,] The folio here and a few lines higher, for *Ludlow* reads—*London*. Few of our author's plays stand more in need of the assistance furnished by a collation with the quartos, than that before us. MALONE.

SCENE III.

The same. A Street.

Enter Two Citizens, meeting.

1 CIT. Good morrow, neighbour : Whither away so fast ?

2 CIT. I promise you, I scarcely know myself : Hear you the news abroad ?

1 CIT. Yes ; the king's dead.¹

2 CIT. Ill news, by'r lady ; seldom comes the better :²

I fear, I fear, 'twill prove a giddy world.

Enter another Citizen.

3 CIT. Neighbours, God speed !

1 CIT. Give you good morrow, sir.

3 CIT. Doth the news hold of good king Edward's death ?

¹ Yes ; the king's dead.] Thus the second folio. The first, without regard to measure—

Yes, that the king is dead. STEEVENS.

² —seldom comes the better :] A proverbial saying, taken notice of in *The English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, 4to. bl. l. 1586, sign. B: “ — as the proverb sayth, *seldome come the better*. Val. That proverb indeed is auncient, and for the most part true,” &c. REED.

The modern editors read—a better. The passage quoted above proves that there is no corruption in the text ; and shows how very dangerous it is to disturb our author's phraseology, merely because it is not familiar to our ears at present. MALONE.

2 CIT. Ay, sir, it is too true ; God help, the while !

3 CIT. Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.

1 CIT. No, no ; by God's good grace, his son shall reign.

3 CIT. Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child !³

2 CIT. In him there is a hope of government ; That, in his nonage, council under him,⁴ And, in his full and ripen'd years, himself, No doubt, shall then, and till then, govern well.

1 CIT. So stood the state, when Henry the sixth Was crown'd in Paris but at nine months old.

3 CIT. Stood the state so ? no, no, good friends, God wot ; For then this land was famously enrich'd With politick grave counsel ; then the king Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.

1 CIT. Why, so hath this, both by his father and mother.

3 CIT. Better it were, they all came by his father ; Or, by his father, there were none at all : For emulation now, who shall be nearest,

³ *Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child !]*

“ Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.”

Ecclesiastes, ch. x. STEEVENS.

⁴ *That, in his nonage, council under him,]* So the quarto. The folio reads—*Which in his nonage.—Which* is frequently used by our author for *who*, and is still so used in our Liturgy. But neither reading affords a very clear sense. Dr. Johnson thinks a line lost before this. I suspect that one was rather omitted after it. MALONE.

Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
 O, full of danger is the duke of Gloster ;
 And the queen's sons, and brothers, haught and
 proud :

And were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
 This sickly land might solace as before.

1 CIT. Come, come, we fear the worst ; all will
 be well.

3 CIT. When clouds are seen, wise men put on
 their cloaks ;

When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand ;
 When the sun sets, who doth not look for night ?
 Untimely storms make men expect a dearth :
 All may be well ; but, if God sort it so,
 'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

2 CIT. Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear :
 You cannot reason almost with a man⁵
 That looks not heavily, and full of dread.

3 CIT. Before the days of change,⁶ still is it so :
 By a divine instinct, men's minds mistrust

⁵ You cannot reason almost with a man—] To reason, is to converse. So, in *King John* :

“ Our griefs, and not our manners, reason now.”

See Vol. X. p. 488, n. 9. STEEVENS.

⁶ Before the days of change, &c.] This is from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 721 : “ Before such great things, men's hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgive them ; as the sea without wind swelleth of himself some time before a tempest.”

TOLLET.

It is evident in this passage, that both Holinshed and Shakespeare allude to *St. Luke*. See ch. xxi. 25, &c. HENLEY.

It is manifest that Shakespeare here followed Holinshed, having adopted almost his words. Being very conversant with the sacred writings, he perhaps had the Evangelist in his thoughts when he wrote, above—

“ Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear.” MALONE.

Ensuing danger ; as, by proof, we see
The water swell before a boist'rous storm.
But leave it all to God. Whither away ?

2 CIT. Marry, we were sent for to the justices.

3 CIT. And so was I ; I'll bear you company.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter the Archbishop of York, the young Duke of York, Queen ELIZABETH, and the Duchess of York.

ARCH. Last night, I heard, they lay at Stony-Stratford ;

And at Northampton they do rest to-night :⁷
To-morrow, or next day, they will be here.

⁷ *Last night, I heard, they lay at Stony-Stratford ;*

And at Northampton they do rest to-night :] Thus both the folios. The quartos, as well as the modern editors, read :

Last night, I heard, they lay at Northampton ;

At Stony-Stratford they do rest to-night.

I have followed the folios ; the historical fact being as there represented. The Prince and his company did, in their way to London, actually lie at *Stony-Stratford* one night, and were the next morning taken back by the Duke of Gloucester to *Northampton*, where they lay the following night. See Hall, Edward V. fol. 6. See also, *Remarks &c. on the last edition of Shakspeare*, [that of 1778,] p. 133. REED.

Shakspeare, it is clear, either forgot this circumstance, or did not think it worth attending to.—According to the reading of the original copy in quarto, at the time the Archbishop is speaking, the King had not reached *Stony-Stratford*, and consequently his being taken back to *Northampton* on the morning after he had been at *Stratford*, could not be in the author's contemplation.

DUCH. I long with all my heart to see the prince; I hope, he is much grown since last I saw him.

Shakspeare well knew that Stony-Stratford was nearer to London than Northampton; therefore in the first copy the young King is made to sleep on one night at Northampton, and the Archbishop very naturally supposes that on the next night, that is, on the night of the day on which he is speaking, the King would reach Stony-Stratford. It is highly improbable that the editor of the folio should have been apprized of the historical fact above stated; and much more likely that he made the alteration for the sake of improving the metre, regardless of any other circumstance. How little he attended to topography appears from a preceding scene, in which Gloster, though in London, talks of sending a messenger to that town, instead of Ludlow. See p. 355, n. 9.

By neither reading can the truth of history be preserved, and therefore we may be sure that Shakspeare did not mean in this instance to adhere to it. According to the present reading, the scene is on the day on which the King was journeying from Northampton to Stratford; and of course the Messenger's account of the peers being seiz'd, &c. which was on the next day after the King had lain at Stratford, is inaccurate. If the folio reading be adopted, the scene is indeed placed on the day on which the King was seized; but the Archbishop is supposed to be apprized of a fact which *before the entry of the Messenger* he manifestly does not know, and which Shakspeare did not intend he should appear to know; namely, the Duke of Gloster's coming to Stony-Stratford the morning after the King had lain there, taking him forcibly back to Northampton, and seizing the Lords Rivers, Grey, &c. The truth is, that the Queen herself, the person most materially interested in the welfare of her son, did not hear of the King's being carried back from Stony-Stratford to Northampton till about *midnight* of the day on which this violence was offered him by his uncle. See Hall, Edward V. fol. 6. Historical truth being thus deviated from, we have a right to presume that Shakspeare in this instance did not mean to pay *any* attention to it, and that the reading furnished by the quarto was that which came from his pen: nor is it possible that he could have made the alteration which the folio exhibits, it being utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour and scope of the present scene. If the Archbishop had known that the young King was carried back to Northampton, he must also have known that the lords who accompanied him, were sent to prison; and instead

Q. ELIZ. But I hear, no ; they say, my son of York

Hath almost overta'en him in his growth.

YORK. Ay, mother, but I would not have it so.

DUCH. Why, my young cousin ; it is good to grow.

YORK. Grandam, one night, as we did sit at supper,

My uncle Rivers talk'd how I did grow

More than my brother ; *Ay*, quoth my uncle Gloster,

Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace :
And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,
Because sweet flowers are slow, and weeds make haste.

DUCH. 'Good faith, 'good faith, the saying did not hold

In him that did object the same to thee :

He was the wretched'st thing,⁸ when he was young,

of eagerly asking the Messenger in p. 363, “*What news?*” might have informed him of the whole transaction.

The truth of history is neglected in another instance also. The Messenger says, the Lords Rivers, Grey, &c. had been sent by Gloster to *Pomfret*, whither they were not sent till some time afterwards, they being sent at first, according to Sir Thomas More, (whose relation Hall and Holinshed transcribed,) “into the North country, into diverse places to prison, and afterwards all to Pontefract.”

The reading of the text is that of the quarto 1597. MALONE.

Shakspeare does not always attend to the propriety of his own alterations. As historical truth, therefore, which ever reading be chosen, must be violated, I am content with such an arrangement as renders the versification smoothest. Where sense cannot claim a preference, a casting vote may be safely given in favour of sound. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *the wretched'st thing,*] *Wretched* is here used in a

So long a growing, and so leisurely,
That, if his rule were true, he should be gracious.

Arch. And so, no doubt, he is, my gracious ma-
dam.

Duch. I hope, he is; but yet let mothers doubt.

York. Now, by my troth, if I had been remem-
ber'd,⁹

I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
To touch his growth, nearer than he touch'd mine.

Duch. How, my young York? I pr'ythee, let me
hear it.

York. Marry, they say, my uncle grew so fast,
That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old;
'Twas full two years ere I could get a tooth.
Grandam, this would have been a biting jest.

Duch. I pr'ythee, pretty York, who told thee
this?

York. Grandam, his nurse.

Duch. His nurse! why, she was dead ere thou
wast born.

York. If 'twere not she, I cannot tell who told
me.

Q. ELIZ. A parlous boy:¹ Go to, you are too
shrewd.

sense yet retained in familiar language, for *paltry*, *pitiful*, being
below expectation. JOHNSON.

Rather, the weakest, most puny, least thriving. RITSON.

⁹ —— *been remember'd,*] *To be remembered* is, in Shakspeare,
to have one's memory quick, to have one's thoughts about one.
JOHNSON.

¹ *A parlous boy:*] *Parlous* is keen, shrewd. So, in *Law
Tricks, &c.* 1608:

“A *parlous* youth, sharp and satirical.” STEEVENS.

ARCH. Good madam, be not angry with the child.

Q. ELIZ. Pitchers have ears.²

*Enter a Messenger.*³

ARCH.

Here comes a messenger:

What news?

MESS. Such news, my lord,
As grieves me to unfold.

Q. ELIZ. How doth the prince?

MESS. Well, madam, and in health.

DUCH. What is thy news?

MESS. Lord Rivers, and lord Grey, are sent to
Pomfret,
With them sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.

DUCH. Who hath committed them?

MESS. The mighty dukes,
Gloster and Buckingham.

Q. ELIZ. For what offence?⁴

It is a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous; the reading of the old quartos. The Queen evidently means to chide him.

RITSON.

* *Pitchers have ears.*] Shakspeare has not quoted this proverbial saying correctly. It appears from *A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull*, by William Bulleyn, 1564, that the old proverb is this: “Small pitchers have great ears.” MALONE.

This proverb has already occurred in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

“Pitchers have ears, and I have many servants.”

RITSON.

³ *Enter a Messenger.*] The quarto reads—*Enter Dorset.*

STEEVENS.

* *For what offence?*] This question is given to the Archbishop in former copies, but the Messenger plainly speaks to the Queen or Duchess. JOHNSON.

The question is given in the quarto to the Archbishop (or Car-

MESS. The sum of all I can, I have disclos'd ;
Why, or for what, the nobles were committed,
Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.

Q. ELIZ. Ah me, I see the ruin of my house !
The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind ;⁵
Insulting tyranny begins to jut
Upon the innocent and awless⁶ throne :—
Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre !
I see, as in a map, the end of all.

DUCH. Accursed and unquiet wrangling days !
How many of you have mine eyes beheld ?
My husband lost his life to get the crown ;
And often up and down my sons were tost,
For me to joy, and weep, their gain, and loss :
And being seated, and domestick broils
Clean over-blown, themselves, the conquerors,
Make war upon themselves ; brother to brother,
Blood to blood, self 'gainst self :—O, preposterous
And frantick courage, end thy damned spleen ;
Or let me die, to look on death no more !⁷

dinal, as he is there called,) where also we have in the following speech, my gracious *lady*. The editor of the folio altered *lady* to *lord*; but it is more probable that the compositor prefixed *Car.* (the designation there of the Archbishop,) to the words, “ For what offence ?” instead of *Qu.* than that *lady* should have been printed in the subsequent speech instead of *lord*. Compositors always keep the names of the interlocutors in each scene ready-composed for use ; and hence mistakes sometimes arise.

MALONE.

⁵ *The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind ;]* So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece* :

“ — While she, the picture of pure piety,

“ Like a white *hind* under the grype's sharp claws—.”

MALONE.

⁶ — *awless*] Not producing awe, not reverenced. To *jut upon* is to *encroach*. JOHNSON.

⁷ *Or let me die, to look on death no more !]* *Earth* is the reading of all the copies, from the first edition put out by the play-

Q. ELIZ. Come, come, my boy, we will to sanctuary.—

Madam, farewell.

DUCH. Stay, I will go with you.

Q. ELIZ. You have no cause.

ARCH. My gracious lady, go,
[To the Queen.

And thither bear your treasure and your goods.

For my part, I'll resign unto your grace

The seal I keep; And so betide to me,

As well I tender you, and all of yours!

Come, I'll conduct you to the sanctuary.⁸

[Exeunt.

ers, downwards. But I have restored the reading of the old quarto in 1597, which is copied by all the other authentic quartos, by which the thought is finely and properly improved:

Or let me die, to look on death no more. THEOBALD.

— *I'll resign unto your grace*

The seal I keep; &c.] Afterwards, however, this obsequious Archbishop [Rotheram] to ingratiate himself with King Richard III. put his majesty's badge, the *Hog*, upon the gate of the Publick Library, Cambridge. STEEVENS.

ACT III. SCENE I.

The same. A Street.

The Trumpets sound. Enter the Prince of Wales, GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, Cardinal Bourchier,⁹ and Others.

BUCK. Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber.¹

GLO. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts' sovereign :

The weary way hath made you melancholy.

PRINCE. No, uncle ; but our crosses on the way
Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy :
I want more uncles here to welcome me.

GLO. Sweet prince, the untainted virtue of your years

Hath not yet div'd into the world's deceit :
No more can you distinguish of a man,
Than of his outward show ; which, God he knows,

⁹ *Cardinal Bourchier,*] Thomas Bourchier was made a Cardinal, and elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1464. He died in 1486. *MALONE.*

¹ —— to your chamber.] London was anciently called *Camera regis.* *POPE.*

So, in Heywood's *If you know not me you know Nobody*, 1633, Part II :

“ This city, our great chamber.” *STEEVENS.*

This title it began to have immediately after the Norman conquest. See Coke's 4 Inst. 243, where it is styled *Camera Regis*; Camden's *Britannia*, 374; Ben Jonson's Account of King James's Entertainment in passing to his Coronation, &c. *REED.*

Seldom, or never, jumpeth with the heart.²
 Those uncles, which you want, were dangerous;
 Your grace attended to the sugar'd words,
 But look'd not on the poison of their hearts:
 God keep you from them, and from such false
 friends!

PRINCE. God keep me from false friends! but
 they were none.

GLO. My lord, the mayor of London comes to
 greet you.

Enter the Lord Mayor, and his Train.

MAY. God bless your grace with health and
 happy days!

PRINCE. I thank you, good my lord;—and thank
 you all.— [Exit Mayor, &c.]

I thought my mother, and my brother York,
 Would long ere this have met us on the way:
 Fye, what a slug is Hastings! that he comes not
 To tell us, whether they will come, or no.

Enter HASTINGS.

BUCK. And in good time,³ here comes the sweat-
 ing lord.

PRINCE. Welcome, my lord: What, will our
 mother come?

HAST. On what occasion, God he knows, not I,

² — jumpeth with the heart.] So, in *Soliman and Perseda*, 1599:

“Wert thou my friend, thy mind would jump with mine.” STEEVENS.

³ — in good time,] De bonne heure. Fr. STEEVENS.

The queen your mother, and your brother York,
Have taken sanctuary : The tender prince
Would fain have come with me to meet your grace,
But by his mother was perforce withheld.

BUCK. Fye ! what an indirect and peevish course
Is this of hers ?—Lord cardinal, will your grace
Persuade the queen to send the duke of York
Unto his princely brother presently ?
If she deny,—lord Hastings, go with him,
And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

CARD. My lord of Buckingham, if my weak
oratory

Can from his mother win the duke of York,
Anon expect him here :⁴ But if she be obdurate
To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid
We should infringe the holy privilege
Of blessed sanctuary ! not for all this land,
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

BUCK. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,
Too ceremonious, and traditional :⁵
Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,⁶

⁴ *Anon expect him here : &c.]* The word—*anon*, may safely be omitted. It only serves to vitiate the measure. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Too ceremonious, and traditional:]* *Ceremonious* for superstitious ; *traditional* for adherent to old customs. WARBURTON.

⁶ *Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,]* But the more *gross*, that is, the more superstitious the age was, the stronger would be the imputation of violated sanctuary. The question, we see by what follows, is whether sanctuary could be claimed by an infant. The speaker resolves it in the negative, because it could be claimed by those only whose actions necessitated them to fly thither ; or by those who had an understanding to demand it ; neither of which could be an infant's case : It is plain then, the first line, which introduces this reasoning, should be read thus :

Weigh it but with the greenness of his age,
i. e. the young Duke of York's, whom his mother had fled with

You break not sanctuary in seizing him.
 The benefit thereof is always granted
 To those whose dealings have deserv'd the place,
 And those who have the wit to claim the place :
 This prince hath neither claim'd it, nor deserv'd it ;
 And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it :
 Then, taking him from thence, that is not there,
 You break no privilege nor charter there.
 Oft have I heard of sanctuary men ;
 But sanctuary children, ne'er till now.⁷

CARD. My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind for once.—

Come on, lord Hastings, will you go with me ?

HAST. I go, my lord.

to sanctuary. The corrupted reading of the old quarto is something nearer the true :

— *the greatness of his age.* WARBURTON.

This emendation is received by Hanmer, and is very plausible ; yet the common reading may stand :

Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,
You break not sanctuary, —

That is, compare the act of seizing him with the *gross* and licentious practices of *these times*, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men are now used to admit. JOHNSON.

The truth is, the quarto 1598, and the two subsequent quartos, as well as the folio, all read—*grossness*. *Greatness* is the corrupt reading of a late quarto of no authority, printed in 1622.

MALONE.

⁷ *Oft have I heard of sanctuary men ; &c.]* These arguments against the privilege of sanctuary are taken from Sir Thomas More's *Life of King Edward the Fifth*, published by Stowe : “ — And verily, I have heard of sanctuary men, but I never heard earst of sanctuary children,” &c. STEEVENS.

More's *Life of King Edward V.* was published also by Hall and Holinshed, and in the Chronicle of Holinshed Shakspeare found this argument. MALONE.

PRINCE. Good lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

[*Exeunt Cardinal and HASTINGS.*

Say, uncle Gloster, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation ?

GLO. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day, or two,
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower :
Then where you please, and shall be thought most fit

For your best health and recreation.

PRINCE. I do not like the Tower, of any place :—
Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord ?

GLO. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place ;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.⁷

PRINCE. Is it upon record ? or else reported
Successively from age to age he built it ?

BUCK. Upon record, my gracious lord.

PRINCE. But say, my lord, it were not register'd ;
Methinks, the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,⁸
Even to the general all-ending day.

⁷ *He did, &c.]* I suppose, this and the following line, (the useless epithet—*gracious*, omitted,) should be read thus :

*He did, my lord, begin that place ; which, since,
Succeeding ages have re-edify'd.* STEEVENS.

⁸ *As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,]* And so it is; and, by that means, like most other *retailed* things, became adulterated. We should read :

—*intail'd to all posterity* ;

which is finely and sensibly expressed, as if *truth* was the natural inheritance of our children ; which it is impiety to deprive them of. WARBURTON.

Retailed may signify diffused, dispersed. JOHNSON.

Retailed means handed down from one to another.—*Goods retailed*, are those which pass from one purchaser to another.—

GLO. So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long.⁹ [Aside.]

PRINCE. What say you, uncle?

GLO. I say, without characters, fame lives long. Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity, I moralize two meanings in one word.¹ } Aside.

Richard uses the word *retailed* in the same sense in the fourth Act, where speaking to the Queen of her daughter, he says—

“ To whom I will *retail* my conquests won.”

M. MASON.

Minsheu in his *Dictionary*, 1617, besides the verb *retail* in the mercantile sense, has the verb “to *retaile* or *retell*, G. *renombrer*, a Lat. *renumerare*;” and in that sense, I conceive, it is employed here. MALONE.

⁹ So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long.]

Is cadit ante senem, qui sapit ante diem.

a proverbial line. STEEVENS.

Bright, in his *Treatise on Melancholy*, 1586, p. 52, says—“ I have knowne children languishing of the spleene, obstructed and altered in temper, talke with gravitie and wisdome, surpassing those tender yeares, and their judgement carrying a marvellous imitation of the wisdome of the ancient, having after a sorte attained that by disease, which other have by course of yeares; whereon I take it, the proverbe ariseth, that *they be of short life who are of wit so pregnant.*” REED.

¹ Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,

I moralize two meanings in one word.] By *vice*, the author means not a *quality*, but a *person*. There was hardly an old *play*, till the period of the *Reformation*, which had not in it a *devil*, and a droll character, a jester; (who was to play upon the *devil*;) and this buffoon went by the name of a *Vice*. This *buffoon* was at first accoutred with a long jerkin, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a wooden dagger, with which (like another Harlequin) he was to make sport in belabouring the *devil*. This was the constant entertainment in the times of *popery*, whilst spirits, and witchcraft, and exorcising held their own. When the *Reformation* took place, the stage shook off some grossities, and increased in refinements. The master-devil then was soon dismissed from the scene; and this buffoon was changed into a subordinate fiend, whose business was to range on earth, and seduce poor mortals into that personated vicious quality, which he occasionally sup-

PRINCE. That Julius Cæsar was a famous man ;
With what his valour did enrich his wit,

ported ; as, *iniquity* in general, *hypocrisy*, *usury*, *vanity*, *prodigality*, *gluttony*, &c. Now, as the fiend, (or *vice*,) who personated *Iniquity*, (or *Hypocrisy*, for instance) could never hope to play his game to the purpose but by hiding his cloven foot, and assuming a semblance quite different from his real character ; he must certainly put on a *formal* demeanour, *moralize* and prevaricate in his words, and pretend a *meaning* directly opposite to his *genuine* and *primitive intention*. If this does not explain the passage in question, 'tis all that I can at present suggest upon it. THEOBALD.

That the buffoon, or jester of the old English farces, was called the *vice*, is certain : and that, in their *moral* representations, it was common to bring in the deadly sins, is as true. Of these we have yet several remains. But that the *vice* used to assume the personages of those sins, is a fancy of Mr. Theobald's, who knew nothing of the matter. The truth is, the *vice* was always a fool or jester : and, (as the woman, in *The Merchant of Venice*, calls the Clown, alluding to the character,) a *merry devil*. Whereas these mortal sins were so many sad serious ones. But what misled our editor was the name, *Iniquity*, given to this *vice* : But it was only on account of his unhappy tricks and rogueries. That it was given to him, and for the reason I mention, appears from the following passage of Jonson's *Staple of News*, second intermeane :

" *M.* How like you the *vice* i' the play ?

" *T.* Here is never a fiend to carry him away. Besides he has never a wooden dagger.

" *M.* That was the old way, gossip, when *Iniquity* came in, like Hocas Pocas, in a jugler's jerkin, with false skirts, like the knave of clubs."

And, in *The Devil's an Ass*, we see this old *vice*, *Iniquity*, described more at large.

From all this, it may be gathered, that the text, where Richard compares himself to the *formal vice*, *Iniquity*, must be corrupt : and the interpolation of some foolish player. The *vice* or *iniquity* being not a *formal* but a merry, buffoon character. Besides, Shakspeare could never make an exact speaker refer to this character, because the subject he is upon is *tradition* and *antiquity*, which have no relation to it ; and because it appears from the turn of the passage, that he is apologizing for his equivocation by a reputable practice. To keep the reader no longer

His wit set down to make his valour live :

in suspence, my conjecture is, that Shakspeare wrote and pointed the lines in this manner :

Thus like the formal-wise Antiquity,

I moralize : Two meanings in one word.

Alluding to the mythologick learning of the ancients, of whom they are all here speaking. So that Richard's ironical apology is to this effect, You men of morals who so much extol your all-wise antiquity, in what am I inferior to it? which was but an equivocator as I am. And it is remarkable, that the Greeks themselves called their remote antiquity, $\Deltaιχόμυθος$, or the *equivocator*. So far as to the general sense; as to that which arises particularly out of the corrected expression, I shall only observe, that *formal-wise* is a compound epithet, an extreme fine one, and admirably fitted to the character of the speaker, who thought all *wisdom* but *formality*. It must therefore be read for the future with a hyphen. My other observation is with regard to the pointing; the common reading—

I moralize two meanings —

is nonsense: but reformed in this manner, very sensible :

Thus like the formal-wise Antiquity

I moralize : Two meanings in one word.

i. e. I moralize as the ancients did. And how was that? the having two meanings to one word. A ridicule on the morality of the ancients, which he insinuates was no better than equivocating. WARBURTON,

This alteration Mr. Upton very justly censures. Dr. Warburton has, in my opinion, done nothing but correct the punctuation, if indeed any alteration be really necessary. See the dissertation on the old vice at the end of this play.

To this long collection of notes may be added a question, to what equivocation Richard refers? The position immediately preceding, that *fame lives long without characters*; that is, without the help of letters, seems to have no ambiguity. He must allude to the former line :

So young so wise, they say, do ne'er live long,
in which he conceals under a proverb, his design of hastening the Prince's death. JOHNSON.

The Prince having caught some part of the former line, asks Richard what he says, who, in order to deceive him, preserves in his reply, the latter words of the line, but substitutes other words at the beginning of it, of a different import from those he had uttered.—This is the equivocation that Gloster really made

Death makes no conquest of this conqueror ;²
For now he lives in fame, though not in life.—

use of, though it does not correspond with his own description of it :

I moralize—two meanings *in one word*.

Word is not here taken in its literal sense, but means a *saying*, a *short sentence*, as *motto* does in Italian, and *bon-mot* in French.—So, in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, Puntarvolo says :

“ Let the *word* be, *Not without mustard*; thy crest is rare.” M. MASON.

From the following stage direction, in an old dramatick piece, entituled, *Histriomastix*, or *The Player Whipt*, 1610, it appears, that *the Vice* and *Iniquity* were sometimes distinct personages :

“ Enter a roaring devil, with *the Vice* on his back, *Iniquity* in one hand, and *Juventus* in the other.”

The devil likewise makes the distinction in his first speech :

“ Ho, ho, ho ! these babes mine are all,

“ The Vice, Iniquitie, and Child Prodigal.”

The following part of this note was obligingly communicated by the Rev. Mr. Bowle, of Idmestone near Salisbury. I know no writer who gives so complete an account of this obsolete character, as Archbishop Harsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 114, Lond. 1608: “ It was a pretty part (he tells us) in the old church-playes, when the nimble *Vice* would skip up nimblly like a jackanapes into the devil’s necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roare, whereat the people would laugh to see the devil so vice-haunted.” STEEVENS.

Dr. Warburton has endeavoured to support his capricious and violent alteration of the text by a very long note, which in my apprehension carries neither conviction, nor information with it.

The Vice, Iniquity, cannot with propriety, be said to *moralize* in general; but in the old Moralities he, like Richard, did often “ *moralize two meanings in one word*. ”

Our author has again used *moralize* as a verb active in his *Rape of Lucrece*:

“ Nor could she *moralize* his wanton sight,

“ More than his eyes were open to the light.”

In which passage it means, “ *to interpret or investigate the latent meaning of his wanton looks*, ” as in the present passage, it signifies either to extract the double and latent meaning of one word or sentence, or to couch two meanings under one word or sentence. So *moral* is used by our author in *Much Ado about*

I'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham.

BUCK. What, my gracious lord?

PRINCE. An if I live until I be a man,
I'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier, as I liv'd a king.

GLO. Short summers lightly³ have a forward
spring. [Aside.]

Nothing, for a secret meaning: “There is some moral in this Benedictus.” See Vol. VI. p. 112, n. 1; and Vol. XII. p. 522, n. 9. The word which Richard uses in a double sense is *live*, which in his former speech he had used literally, and in the present is used metaphorically. Mr. Mason conceives, because what we now call a motto, was formerly denominated the *mot* or *word*, that *word* may here signify a whole sentence. But the argument is defective. Though in tournaments the motto on a knight’s shield was formerly called *The word*, it never at any period was called “One word.”

The *Vice* of the old moralities was a buffoon character, [See Cotgrave’s *Dict.* “*Badin*, A foole or *Vice* in a play.—*Mime*, A *vice*, foole, jester, &c. in a play.”] whose chief employment was to make the audience laugh, and one of the modes by which he effected his purpose was by double meanings, or playing upon words. In these moral representations, *Fraud*, *INIQUITY*, *Covetousness*, *Luxury*, *Gluttony*, *Vanity*, &c. were frequently introduced. Mr. Upton in a dissertation which, on account of its length, is annexed at the end of the play, has shown, from Ben Jonson’s *Staple of News*, and *The Devil’s an Ass*, that *Iniquity* was sometimes the *Vice* of the Moralities. Mr. Steevens’s note in the foregoing page, shows, that he was not always so.

The *formal Vice* perhaps means, the *shrewd*, the *sensible Vice*. —In *The Comedy of Errors*, “a *formal man*” seems to mean, one in his senses; a rational man. Again, in *Twelfth-Night*, Vol. V. p. 330, n. 2: “—this is evident to any *formal capacity*.”

MALONE.

² — *of this conqueror*;] For this reading we are indebted to Mr. Theobald, who derived it from the original edition in 1597. All the subsequent ancient copies read corruptly—*of his conqueror*. MALONE.

³ — *lightly*;] Commonly, in ordinary course. JOHNSON.

So, in the old Proverb: “There’s lightning *lightly* before thunder.” See Ray’s *Proverbs*, p. 130, edit. 3d.

Enter YORK, HASTINGS, and the Cardinal.

BUCK. Now, in good time, here comes the duke of York.

PRINCE. Richard of York ! how fares our loving brother ?

YORK. Well, my dread lord ;⁴ so must I call you now.

PRINCE. Ay, brother ; to our grief, as it is yours : Too late he died,⁵ that might have kept that title, Which by his death hath lost much majesty.

GLO. How fares our cousin, noble lord of York ?

YORK. I thank you, gentle uncle. O, my lord,

Again, in *Penny-wise and Pound-foolish*, &c.—“ Misfortunes seldom walke alone ; and so when blessings doe knocke at a man’s dore, they lightly are not without followers and fellowes.”

Again, Holinshed, p. 725, concerning one of King Edward’s concubines : “ —one whom no one could get out of the church lightly to any place, but it were to his bed.”

Again, in Ben Jonson’s *Cynthia’s Revels* :

“ He is not lightly within to his mercer.” STEEVENS.

Short summers lightly have a forward spring.] That is, short summers are usually preceded by a forward spring ; or in other words, and more appositely to Gloster’s latent meaning, a premature spring is usually followed by a short summer. MALONE.

* — *dread lord ;]* The original of this epithet applied to kings has been much disputed. In some of our old statutes the king is called *Rex metuendissimus*. JOHNSON.

* *Too late he died ;]* i.e. too lately, the loss is too fresh in our memory. WARBURTON.

So, in our author’s *Rape of Lucrece* :

“ — I did give that life,

“ Which she too early, and *too late* hath spill’d.”

Again, in *King Henry V* :

“ The mercy that was quick in us but *late*,” &c.

MALONE.

You said, that idle weeds are fast in growth :
The prince my brother hath outgrown me far.

GLO. He hath, my lord.

YORK. And therefore is he idle ?

GLO. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so.

YORK. Then is he more beholden to you, than I.

GLO. He may command me, as my sovereign ;
But you have power in me, as in a kinsman.

YORK. I pray you, uncle, then, give me this
dagger.⁶

GLO. My dagger, little cousin? with all my heart.

PRINCE. A beggar, brother?

YORK. Of my kind uncle, that I know will give ;
And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.⁷

GLO. A greater gift than that I'll give my cousin.

⁶ *I pray you, uncle, then, give me this dagger.]* Then was added by Sir Thomas Hanmer for the sake of metre.

STEEVENS.

⁷ *And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.]* The reading of the quartos is—*gift*. The first folio reads :

And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.

This reading, made a little more metrical, has been followed, I think, erroneously, by all the editors. JOHNSON.

The quarto 1612 reads :

— *no grief* — STEEVENS.

— *which is no grief to give.]* *Which to give*, or the gift of which, induces no *regret*. Thus the authentick copies, the quarto, 1598, and the first folio. A quarto of no authority changed *grief* to *gift*, and the editor of the second folio capriciously altered the line thus :

“ And being a toy, *it is no grief to give.*” MALONE.

In conformity to our old elliptical mode of speaking and writing, the words—*which is*, might be omitted. They hurt the measure, without advancement of the sense. Perhaps, however, the correction in the second folio (which was received by Sir Thomas Hanmer) is preferable. STEEVENS.

YORK. A greater gift! O, that's the sword to it?

GLO. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.

YORK. O then, I see, you'll part but with light gifts;

In weightier things you'll say a beggar, nay.

GLO. It is too weighty for your grace to wear.

YORK. I weigh it lightly,⁸ were it heavier.

GLO. What, would you have my weapon, little lord?

YORK. I would, that I might thank you as you call me.

GLO. How?

YORK. Little.

PRINCE. My lord of York will still be cross in talk;—

Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.

YORK. You mean, to bear me, not to bear with me;—

Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;
Because that I am little, like an ape,⁹

* *I weigh it lightly, &c.]* i. e. I should still esteem it but a trifling gift, were it heavier. But the Oxford editor reads:

I'd weigh it lightly,—

i. e. I could manage it, though it were heavier. WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton is right. So, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V. sc. ii:

“ You weigh me not,—O that's you care not for me.”

STEEVENS.

* *Because that I am little, like an ape,*] The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shows it was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a bear. The Duke therefore in calling himself *ape*, calls his uncle *bear*.

JOHNSON.

To this custom there seems to be an allusion in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Gypsies*:

He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.

BUCK. With what a sharp-provided wit he reasons!

To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,
He prettily and aptly taunts himself:
So cunning, and so young, is wonderful.

GLO. My gracious lord,¹ will't please you pass along?

Myself, and my good cousin Buckingham,
Will to your mother; to entreat of her,
To meet you at the Tower, and welcome you.

YORK. What, will you go unto the Tower, my lord?

PRINCE. My lord protector needs will have it so.

“ A gypsy in his shape,
“ More calls the beholder,
“ Than *the fellow with the ape*,
“ Or *the ape on his shoulder.*”

Again, in *The First Part of the Eighth liberal Science*, entitled *Ars Adulandi &c.* devised and compiled by *Ulpian Fulwel*, 1576: “—thou hast an excellent back to carry my lord’s *ape.*”

See likewise Hogarth’s *Humours of an Election*, plate IV.

York also alludes to the protuberance on Gloster’s back, which was commodious for carrying burdens, as it supplied the place of a porter’s knot. STEEVENS.

I do not believe that the reproach is what Johnson supposes, or that York meant to call his uncle a bear. He merely alludes to Richard’s deformity, his high shoulder, or hump-back, as it is called. That was *the scorn he meant to give his uncle.* In the third Act of the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* the same thought occurs to Richard himself, where describing his own figure, he says:

“ To make an envious mountain on my back,
“ Where sits deformity, to mock my body.” M. MASON.

¹ *My gracious lord,*] For the insertion of the word *gracious*, I am answerable. Gloster has already used the same address. The defect of the metre shows that a word was omitted at the press.

YORK. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.

GLO. Why, sir, what should you fear?²

YORK. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry ghost ;
My grandam told me, he was murder'd there.

PRINCE. I fear no uncles dead.

GLO. Nor none that live, I hope.

PRINCE. An if they live, I hope, I need not fear.
But come, my lord, and, with a heavy heart,
Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower.

[*Exeunt Prince, YORK, HASTINGS, Cardinal,*
and Attendants.]

BUCK. Think you, my lord, this little prating
York

Was not incensed by his subtle mother,³
To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously ?

GLO. No doubt, no doubt : O, 'tis a parlous boy ;
Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable ;⁴
He's all the mother's, from the top to toe.

BUCK. Well, let them rest.—

² *Why, sir, &c.]* The word—*sir*, was added by Sir Thomas Hanmer. Without it this half line is harsh, and quite unmeterical.

STEEVENS.

³ *Was not incensed by his subtle mother,]* *Incensed* means here, *incited* or *suggested*. So, in *King Henry VIII.* Gardiner says of Cranmer :

“ _____ I have

“ *Incens'd* the lords of the council, that he is

“ *A most arch heretick.*”

And in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Borachio says to Pedro : “ —how Don John your brother *incensed* me to slander the lady Hero.” M. MASON.

⁴ —*capable;*] here, as in many other places in these plays, means intelligent, quick of apprehension. See p. 347, n. 1.

MALONE.

So again, in *Troilus and Cressida* : “ Let me carry another to his horse, for that's the more *capable* creature.” RITSON.

Come hither, gentle Catesby ;⁵ thou art sworn
 As deeply to effect what we intend,
 As closely to conceal what we impart :
 Thou know'st our reasons urg'd upon the way ;—
 What think'st thou ? is it not an easy matter
 To make William lord Hastings of our mind,
 For the instalment of this noble duke
 In the seat royal of this famous isle ?

CATE. He for his father's sake so loves the prince,
 That he will not be won to aught against him.

BUCK. What think'st thou then of Stanley ? will not he ?

CATE. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.

BUCK. Well then, no more but this : Go, gentle Catesby,

And, as it were far off, sound thou lord Hastings,
 How he doth stand affected to our purpose ;
 And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
 To sit about the coronation.

If thou dost find him tractable to us,
 Encourage him, and tell him all our reasons :
 If he be leaden, icy, cold, unwilling,
 Be thou so too ; and so break off the talk,
 And give us notice of his inclination :
 For we to-morrow hold divided councils,⁶
 Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.

⁵ — gentle *Catesby* ;] I have supplied the epithet — *gentle*, for the same reasons urged by Mr. Malone in the foregoing page, n. 1, in defence of a similar insertion. STEEVENS.

⁶ — divided *councils*,] That is, a *private consultation*, *separate* from the known and publick council. So, in the next scene, Hastings says :

“ Bid him not fear the *separated councils.* ” JOHNSON.

This circumstance is conformable to history. Hall, p. 13, says,

GLO. Commend me to lord William : tell him,
Catesby,
His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries
To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret-castle ;
And bid my friend, for joy of this good news,
Give mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more.

BUCK. Good Catesby, go, effect this business
soundly.

CATE. My good lords both, with all the heed I
can.

GLO. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we
sleep ?

CATE. You shall, my lord.

GLO. At Crosby-place, there shall you find us
both. [Exit CATESBY.]

BUCK. Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we
perceive

“ When the protectour had both the chyldren in his possession, yea, and that they were in a sure place, he then began to threst to se the ende of his enterprise. And, to avoyde all suspicion, he caused all the lords which he knewe to bee faithfull to the kynge, to assemble at Baynardes Castle, to comen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices, and of his affinitie, at Crosbies-place, contrived the contrary, and to make the protectour kyng : to which counsail there were adhibite very fewe, and they very secrete.” REED.

Mr. Reed has shown from Hall’s Chronicle that this circumstance is founded on historical fact. But Holinshed, Hall’s copyist, was our author’s authority : “ But the protectoure and the duke after they had sent to the lord Cardinal,—the lord Stanley and the lord Hastings then lord Chamberlaine, with many other noblemen, to commune and devise about the coronation *in one place*, as fast were they in *another place*, contriving the contrarie, and to make the protectour king.” —“ the lord Stanley, that was after earle of Darby, wisely mistrusted it, and said unto the lorde Hastings, that he much mislyked *these two several counseels.*” MALONE.

Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots?

Glo. Chop off his head, man;—somewhat we will do:⁷—

And, look, when I am king, claim thou of me
The earldom of Hereford, and all the moveables
Whereof the king my brother was possess'd.

BUCK. I'll claim that promise at your grace's hand.

Glo. And look to have it yielded with all kindness.

Come, let us sup betimes; that afterwards
We may digest our complots in some form.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.⁸

Before Lord Hastings' House.

Enter a Messenger.

MESS. My lord, my lord,— [Knocking.

HAST. [Within.] Who knocks?

MESS. One from lord Stanley.

HAST. [Within.] What is't o'clock?

MESS. Upon the stroke of four.

⁷ —will do:] The folio reads—will determine. STEEVENS.

⁸ Scene II.] Every material circumstance in the following scene is taken from Holinshed's Chronicle, except that it is a knight with whom Hastings converses, instead of Buckingham.

STEEVENS.

Enter HASTINGS.

HAST. Cannot thy master sleep the tedious nights?

MESS. So it should seem by that I have to say.
First, he commends him to your noble lordship.

HAST. And then,—

MESS. And then he sends you word, he dreamt
To-night the boar had rased off his helm :⁹
Besides, he says, there are two councils held ;
And that may be determin'd at the one,
Which may make you and him to rue at the other.
Therefore he sends to know your lordship's plea-
sure,—

If presently, you will take horse with him,
And with all speed post with him toward the north,
To shun the danger that his soul divines.

⁹ —— *the boar had rased off his helm :*] This term *rased* or *rashed*, is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a *boar*.

So, in *King Lear*, 4to. edit :

“ In his anointed flesh *rash* boarish fangs.”

Again, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. ch. xxxvi :

“ — ha, cur, avaunt, the bore so *rase* thy hide !”

By the *boar*, throughout this scene, is meant *Gloster*, who was called the *boar*, or the *hog*, from his having a *boar* for his cognizance, and one of the supporters of his coat of arms.

STEEVENS.

So Holinshed, after Hall and Sir Thomas More : “ The selfe night next before his death the lorde Stanley sent a trustie secret messenger unto him at midnight in all haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterlie no longer to byde, he had so fearful a dreame, in which him thought that a *boare* with his tuskes so *rased* them both by the heades that the bloud ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gave the boare for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarie, but had his horse readie, if the lord Hastings would go with him,” &c. MALONE.

HAST. Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord ;
 Bid him not fear the separated councils :
 His honour,¹ and myself, are at the one ;
 And, at the other, is my good friend Catesby ;²
 Where nothing can proceed, that toucheth us,
 Whereof I shall not have intelligence.
 Tell him, his fears are shallow, wanting instance :³
 And for his dreams—I wonder, he's so fond⁴
 To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers :
 To fly the boar, before the boar pursues,
 Were to incense the boar to follow us,
 And make pursuit, where he did mean no chase.
 Go, bid thy master rise and come to me ;

¹ *His honour,*] This was the usual address to noblemen in Shakspeare's time. MALONE.

See note on *Timon of Athens*, Act I. sc. i. where the same address occurs: “ All happiness to your honour ! ” STEEVENS.

² *And, at the other, is my good friend Catesby ; &c.*] So, in the Legend of Lord Hastings, *Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1575 :

“ I fear'd the end; my Catesby being there

“ Discharg'd all doubts; him hold I most entyre.”

MALONE.

³ —wanting instance:] That is, wanting some example or act of malevolence, by which they may be justified: or which, perhaps, is nearer to the true meaning, wanting any immediate ground or reason. JOHNSON.

This is the reading of the quarto, except that it has—*instancie*.
MALONE.

The folio reads—*without* instance. STEEVENS.

Instance seems to mean, symptom or prognostick. We find the word used in a similar sense, in *The Comedy of Errors*, where Egeon, describing his shipwreck, says :

“ A league from Epidamnum had we sail'd,

“ Before the always wind-obeying deep

“ Gave any tragick instance of our harm.” M. MASON.

⁴ —so fond—] i. e. so weak, silly. Thus, in *King Lear*:
 “ I am a very foolish, fond old man.” STEEVENS.

And we will both together to the Tower,
Where, he shall see, the boar will use us kindly.

MESS. I'll go, my lord, and tell him what you say. [Exit.]

Enter CATESBY.

CATE. Many good morrows to my noble lord!

HAST. Good Morrow, Catesby; you are early stirring:

What news, what news, in this our tottering state?

CATE. It is a reeling world, indeed, my lord;
And, I believe, will never stand upright,
Till Richard wear the garland of the realm.

HAST. How! wear the garland? dost thou mean the crown?

CATE. Ay, my good lord.

HAST. I'll have this crown of mine cut from my shoulders,

Before I'll see the crown so foul misplac'd.
But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it?

CATE. Ay, on my life; and hopes to find you forward

Upon his party, for the gain thereof:

And, thereupon, he sends you this good news,—
That, this same very day, your enemies,
The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret.

HAST. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,
Because they have been still my adversaries:
But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows, I will not do it, to the death.

CATE. God keep your lordship in that gracious mind!

HAST. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,—

That they, who brought me in my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy.

Well, Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older,
I'll send some packing, that yet think not on't.

CATE. 'Tis a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,
When men are unprepar'd, and look not for it.

HAST. O monstrous, monstrous! and so falls it out

With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey: and so 'twill do
With some men else, who think themselves as safe
As thou, and I; who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard, and to Buckingham.

CATE. The princes both make high account of you,—

For they account his head upon the bridge. [Aside.

HAST. I know, they do; and I have well deserv'd it.

Enter STANLEY.

Come on, come on, where is your boar-spear, man?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?

STAN. My lord, good Morrow; and good morrow,⁵ Catesby:—

You may jest on, but, by the holy rood,⁶

⁵ — and good Morrow,] And was supplied by Sir Thomas Hanmer, to assist the measure. STEEVENS.

⁶ — the holy rood,] i. e. the cross. So, in the old mystery of Candlemas-Day, 1512:

“ Whan hir swete sone shall on a rood deye.”

Again, in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. VI. c. v:

I do not like these several councils,⁷ I.

Hast. My lord, I hold my life as dear as yours;⁸
And never, in my life, I do protest,
Was it more precious to me than 'tis now:
Think you, but that I know our state secure,
I would be so triumphant as I am?

Stan. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode
from London,

Were jocund, and suppos'd their states were sure,
And they, indeed, had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'er-cast.
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt;⁹
Pray God, I say, I prove a needless coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

Hast. Come, come, have with you.¹—Wot you
what, my lord?

“ And nigh thereto a little chapell stooode
“ Which being all with yvy overspred,
“ Deck'd all the roofe, and shadowing the *roode*,
“ Seem'd like a grove fair branched overhed.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *I do not like these several councils,*] See p. 381, n. 1.

MALONE.

⁸ *My lord, I hold my life as dear as yours;*] Thus the first folio. The quartos—(profoundly ignorant of our author's elliptical mode of expressing himself, and in contempt of metre,)—
—*as dear as you do yours.* STEEVENS.

⁹ —*I misdoubt;*] i. e. suspect it of danger. So, in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

“ —*the bird*
“ *With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush.*”

STEEVENS.

¹ —*have with you.*] A familiar phrase in parting, as much as, *take something along with you*, or *I have something to say to you.* JOHNSON.

This phrase so frequently occurs in Shakspeare, that I wonder Johnson should, in his fourteenth volume, mistake its meaning.

To-day, the lords you talk of are beheaded.

STAN. They, for their truth,² might better wear
their heads,

Than some, that have accus'd them, wear their hats.
But come, my lord, let's away.

Enter a Pursuivant.

HAST. Go on before, I'll talk with this good fel-
low. [*Exeunt STAN. and CATESBY.*
How now, sirrah? how goes the world with thee?

PURS. The better, that your lordship please to
ask.

HAST. I tell thee, man, 'tis better with me now,
Than when thou met'st me last where now we meet:
Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,
By the suggestion of the queen's allies;
But now, I tell thee, (keep it to thyself,)
This day those enemies are put to death,
And I in better state than ere I was.

It signifies merely “I will go along with you;” and is an ex-
pression in use at this day.

In *The First Part of King Henry VI.* when Suffolk is going
out, Somerset says—“*Have with you;*” and then follows him.

In *Othello*, Iago says :

“ Captain, will you go ? ”
“ Oth. *Have with you.* ”

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Mrs. Ford says :

“ Will you go, Mrs. Page ? ”

To which she replies ;

“ *Have with you.* ”

And in the same scene, the Host afterwards says—

“ Here, boys, shall we wag ? ”

To which the Page replies—“ *Have with you.* ” M. MASON.

² *They, for their truth,*] That is, with respect to their *honesty.*
JOHNSON.

PURS. God hold it,³ to your honour's good content!

HAST. Gramercy, fellow : There, drink that for me. [Throwing him his Purse.

PURS. I thank your honour. [Exit Pursuivant.

Enter a Priest.

PR. Well met, my lord ; I am glad to see your honour.

HAST. I thank thee, good sir John,⁴ with all my heart.

I am in your debt for your last exercise ;⁵
Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.⁶

BUCK. What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain ?

³ —— *hold it,*] That is, *continue it.* JOHNSON.

⁴ —— *good sir John,*] Sir was formerly the usual address to the inferior clergy. See Vol. V. p. 7, n. 1. MALONE.

⁵ —— *exercise;*] Performance of divine service. JOHNSON.

I rather imagine it meant—for attending him in private to hear his confession. So, in sc. vii :

“ To draw him from his holy *exercise.* ” MALONE.

Exercise, I believe, means only religious exhortation, or lecture. So, in *Othello*:

“ Much castigation, *exercise devout.* ” STEEVENS.

⁶ *Enter Buckingham.*] From the Continuation of Harding’s *Chronicle*, 1543, where the account given originally by Sir Thomas More is transcribed with some additions, it appears that the person who held this conversation with Hastings was Sir Thomas Howard, who is introduced in the last Act of this play as Earl of Surrey :

“ The same morning ere he [Hastings] were up from his bed

Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the priest;
Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.⁷

HAST. 'Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
The men you talk of came into my mind.
What, go you toward the Tower?

BUCK. I do, my lord; but long I cannot stay
there:

I shall return before your lordship thence.

HAST. Nay, like enough, for I stay dinner there.

BUCK. And supper too, although thou know'st
it not. [Aside.]

Come, will you go?

HAST. I'll wait upon your lordship.
[Exeunt.]

where Shore's wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward, [Howard] sonne to the lord Haward,—as it were of courtesiae, to accoumpaignie him to the counsaill; but forasmuche as the lord Hastings was not ready, he taried a while for him, and hasted him away. This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastings stayed a while commonyng with a priest whom he met in the Tower strete, brake the lordes tale, saying to him merily, ‘What, my lorde, I pray you come on; wherefore talke you so long with the priest? You have no nede of a priest yet’ and laughed upon him, as though he would saye, you shall have nede of one sone.” Fol. 59. MALONE.

⁷ ——shriving work *in hand.*] Shriving work is confession.
JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“ ——the bearers put to sudden death,
“ Not shriving time allow'd.” STEEVENS.

SCENE III.

Pomfret. *Before the Castle.*

Enter RATCLIFF, with a Guard, conducting RIVERS, GREY,⁸ and VAUGHAN, to Execution.

RAT. Come, bring forth the prisoners.⁹

RIV. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this,—
To-day, shalt thou behold a subject die,
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

GREY. God keep the prince from all the pack
of you!

A knot you are of damned blood-suckers.

VAUGH. You live, that shall cry woe for this
hereafter.

RAT. Despatch; the limit¹ of your lives is out.

RIV. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody pri-
son,

Fatal and ominous to noble peers!

* ——Grey,] Queen Elizabeth Grey is deservedly pitied for losing her two sons; but the royalty of their birth has so engrossed the attention of historians, that they never reckon into the number of her misfortunes the murder of this her second son, Sir Richard Grey. It is as remarkable how slightly the death of our Earl Rivers is always mentioned, though a man invested with such high offices of trust and dignity; and how much we dwell on the execution of the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, a man in every light his inferior. In truth, the generality draw their ideas of English story, from the tragick rather than the historick authors. WALPOLE.

⁹ Come, bring forth the prisoners.] This speech is wanting in the folio, and might (as it has neither use, nor pretensions to metre,) be as well omitted as retained. STEEVENS.

¹ —— the limit—] For the limited time. See Vol. XI. p. 184, n. 9. MALONE.

Within the guilty closure of thy walls,
 Richard the second here was hack'd to death :
 And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
 We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

GREY. Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon our heads,

When she exclaim'd on Hastings, you, and I,
 For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

RIV. Then curs'd she Hastings, then curs'd she Buckingham,

Then curs'd she Richard :—O, remember, God,
 To hear her prayers for them, as now for us !
 And for my sister, and her princely sons,—
 Be satisfied, dear God, with our true bloods,
 Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt !

RAT. Make haste, the hour of death is expiate.²

* *Make haste, the hour of death is expiate.]* Thus the folio. The quarto furnishes a line that has occurred already :

“ Despatch ; the limit of your lives is out.”

Expiate is used for *expiated*; so *confiscate*, *contaminate*, *consummate*, &c. &c. It seems to mean, *fully completed*, and *ended*. Shakspeare has again used the word in the same sense in his 22d Sonnet :

“ Then look I death my *days* should *expiate*.”

So, in *Locrine*, 1595 :

“ Lives Sabren yet, to *expiate* my wrath.”

The editor of the second folio, who altered whatever he did not understand, reads arbitrarily—

“ Despatch ; the hour of death is *now expir'd*.” and he has been followed by all the modern editors. MALONE.

— *the hour of death is expiate.]* As I cannot make sense of this, I should certainly read, with the second folio :

“ — the hour of death is *now expired*,”

meaning the hour appointed for his death. The passage quoted by Mr. Malone from *Locrine*, is nothing to the purpose, for there, to *expiate* means to *atone for*, or *satisfy*. M. MASON.

I do not well understand the reading which Mr. Malone pre-

RIV. Come, Grey,—come, Vaughan,—let us here
embrace :
Farewell, until we meet again in heaven. [Exeunt.

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Tower.*

BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, *the Bishop of Ely*,³ CATESBY, LOVEL, and Others, sitting at a Table : Officers of the Council attending.

HAST. Now, noble peers, the cause why we are met
Is—to determine of the coronation :
In God's name, speak, when is the royal day ?

BUCK. Are all things ready for that royal time ?

STAN. They are ; and wants but nomination.⁴

fers, though I have left it in the text. Perhaps we should read :

“ —— the hour of death is expirate.” which accords with Shakspeare's phraseology, and needs no explanation. Thus, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ —— and expire the term

“ Of a despised life.—.” STEEVENS.

³ —— *Bishop of Ely,*] Dr. John Morton ; who was elected to that see in 1478. He was advanced to the see of Canterbury in 1486, and appointed Lord Chancellor in 1487. He died in the year 1500. This prelate, Sir Thomas More tells us, first devised the scheme of putting an end to the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, by a marriage between Henry Earl of Richmond, and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and was a principal agent in procuring Henry when abroad to enter into a covenant for that purpose. MALONE.

⁴ —— and wants but nomination.] i. e. the only thing wanting, is appointment of a particular day for the ceremony.

ELY. To-morrow then I judge a happy day.

BUCK. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein?

Who is most inward⁵ with the noble duke?

ELY. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his mind.

BUCK. We know each other's faces: for our hearts,—

He knows no more of mine, than I of yours;
Nor I, of his, my lord, than you of mine:—
Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

HAST. I thank his grace, I know he loves me well;

But, for his purpose in the coronation,
I have not sounded him, nor he deliver'd
His gracious pleasure any way therein:
But you, my noble lord, may name the time;
And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,
Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part.

Enter GLOSTER.

ELY. In happy time, here comes the duke himself.

GLO. My noble lords and cousins, all, good morrow:

I have been long a sleeper; but, I trust,
My absence doth neglect no great design,
Which by my presence might have been concluded.

⁵ —inward—] i. e. intimate, confidential. So, in *Measure for Measure*:

“Sir, I was an *inward of his.*” STEEVENS.

BUCK. Had you not come upon your cue,⁶ my lord,

William lord Hastings had pronounc'd your part,—
I mean, your voice,—for crowning of the king.

GLO. Than my lord Hastings, no man might be bolder;

His lordship knows me well, and loves me well.—
My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries⁷ in your garden there;
I do beseech you, send for some of them.

ELY. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.

[*Exit ELY.*

⁶ *Had you not come upon your cue,]* This expression is borrowed from the theatre. The *cue*, *queue*, or *tail* of a speech, consists of the last words, which are the token for an entrance or answer. To *come on the cue*, therefore, is to come at the proper time. JOHNSON.

So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Quince says to Flute—
“ You speak all your part at once, *cues* and all.” STEEVENS.

⁷ *I saw good strawberries—]* The reason why the Bishop was despatched on this errand, is not clearer in Holinshed, from whom Shakspeare adopted the circumstances, than in this scene, where it is introduced. Nothing seems to have happened which might not have been transacted with equal security in the presence of the reverend cultivator of *these strawberries*, whose complaisance is likewise recorded by the author of the Latin play on the same subject, in the British Museum :

*Eliensis antistes venis? senem quies,
Juvenem labor decet: ferunt hortum tuum
Decora fraga plurimum producere.*

EPISCOPUS ELIENSIS,

*Nil tibi claudetur hortus quod meus
Producit; esset laetus vellem mihi,
Quo sim tibi gratus.*

This circumstance of asking for the strawberries, however, may have been mentioned by the historians merely to show the unusual affability and good humour which the dissembling Glosster affected at the very time when he had determined on the death of Hastings. STEEVENS.

GLO. Cousin of Buckingham, a word with you.

[*Takes him aside.*

Catesby hath sounded Hastings in our business ;
And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
That he will lose his head, ere give consent,
His master's child, as worshipfully he terms it,
Shall lose the royalty of England's throne.

BUCK. Withdraw yourself awhile, I'll go with
you.

[*Exeunt GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.*

STAN. We have not yet set down this day of
triumph.

To-morrow, in my judgment, is too sudden ;
For I myself am not so well provided,
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd.

Re-enter Bishop of Ely.

ELY. Where is my lord protector ? I have sent
For these strawberries.

HAST. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth this
morning ;

There's some conceit or other likes him well,⁸
When he doth bid good morrow with such spirit.
I think, there's ne'er a man in Christendom,
Can lesser hide his love, or hate, than he ;
For by his face straight shall you know his heart.

* There's some conceit or other likes him well,] *Conceit* is thought. So, in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, 1609 :

"Here is a thing too young for such a place,

"Who, if it had conceit, would die." MALONE.

Conceit, as used by Hastings, I believe signifies—*pleasant idea or fancy*. So Falstaff, speaking of Poins,—“He a good wit?—there is no more *conceit* in him, than is in a mallet.”

STAN. What of his heart perceive you in his face,
By any likelihood⁹ he show'd to-day?

HAST. Marry, that with no man here he is offended;
For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.

Re-enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.

GLO. I pray you all, tell me what they deserve,¹
That do conspire my death with devilish plots

⁹ —— *likelihood* —] Semblance; appearance. JOHNSON.

So, in another of our author's plays :

“ —— *poor likelihoods*, and modern seemings.”

STEEVENS.

Thus the quarto. The folio reads — *livelhood*. MALONE.

¹ *I pray you all, tell me what they deserve, &c.]* This story was originally told by Sir Thomas More, who wrote about thirty years after the time. His *History of King Richard III.* was inserted in Hall's Chronicle, from whence it was copied by Holinshed, who was Shakspeare's authority :

“ Between ten and eleven he returned into the chamber among them with a wonderful soure, angrie, countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, and so sette him downe in his place.—Then when he had sitten still awhile, thus he began : What were they worthie to have that compasse and imagine the destruction of me, being so neere of bloud unto the king, and protectour of his royal person and his realme?—Then the lord Chamberlaine, as he that for the love betweene them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and sayd, that they were worthy to be punished for hainous traytors, whatsoever they were ; and all the other affirmed the same. That is, quoth he, yonder sorceresse, my brother's wife, and other with her, meaning the queene :—ye shall all see in what wise that sorceresse, and that other witch of her counsell, Shore's wife, with their affinitie, have by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon the left arme, where he shewed a werish withered arme and small, as it was never other.—No man but was there present, but well knewe his arme was ever such since his birth. Naythelesse the lord Chamberlaine (which

Of damned witchcraft ; and that have prevail'd
Upon my body with their hellish charms ?

HAST. The tender love I bear your grace, my lord,

Makes me most forward in this noble presence
To doom the offenders : Whosoe'er they be,
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

GLO. Then be your eyes the witness of their evil,
Look how I am bewitch'd ; behold mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up :
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
Consorted with that harlot, strumpet Shore,

from the death of king Edward kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, saving, as it is saide, he that while forbare her of reverence toward the king, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) aunswered and said, Certainly, my lord, *if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.* What, quoth the protectour, thou servest me I wene with *ifs* and with *ands* : I tell thee they have so done ; and that I will make good on thy bodie, traitour ; and therewith, as in great anger, he clapped his fist upon the boord a great rap. At which token given, one cried, treason, without the chamber. Therewith a dore clapped, and in came there rushing men in harnessse, as many as the chamber might holde. And anone the protectour sayd to the lord Hastings, I arrest thee traitor.—Then were they all quickely bestowed in diverse chambers, except the lord Chamberlaine, whom the protectour bade *speede him and shrieve him apace, for by S. Paul, quoth he, I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.* So was he brought forth into the greene beside the chappell within the Tower, and his head laid downe upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off ; and afterward his body with the head enterred at Windsor, beside the body of king Edward."

M. D. i. e. Maister John Dolman, the author of the Legend of Lord Hastings, in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1575, has thrown the same circumstances into verse.

Morton, Bishop of Ely, was present at this council, and from him Sir Thomas More, who was born in 1480, is supposed to have had his information. Polydore Virgil, who began his history in 1505, tells the story differently. MALONE.

That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

Hast. If they have done this deed, my noble lord,—

Glo. If!² thou protector of this damned strumpet,

Talk'st thou to me of ifs?—Thou art a traitor:—
Off with his head:—now, by Saint Paul I swear,
I will not dine until I see the same.—

Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done;³

² *If! &c.]* For this circumstance see Holinshed, Hall, and *The Mirrour for Magistrates.* FARMER.

³ *Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done;*] In former copies:

Lovel, and Ratcliff, look, that it be done.

The scene is here in the Tower; and Lord Hastings was cut off on that very day, when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan suffered at Pomfret. How then could Ratcliff be both in Yorkshire and the Tower? In the scene preceding this, we find him conducting those gentlemen to the block. In the old quarto, we find it, *Exeunt: Manet Catesby with Hastings.* And in the next scene, before the Tower walls, we find Lovel and Catesby come back from the execution, bringing the head of Hastings.

THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald should have added, that, *in the old quarto*, no names are mentioned in Richard's speech. He only says—“*some* see it done.” Nor, *in that edition*, does *Lovel* appear in the next scene; but only *Catesby*, bringing the head of Hastings. The confusion seems to have arisen, when it was thought necessary that *Catesby* should be employed to fetch the Mayor, who, in the quarto, is made to come without having been sent for. As some other person was then wanted to bring the head of Hastings, the poet, or the players, appointed *Lovel* and *Ratcliff* to that office, without reflecting that the latter was engaged in another service on the same day at Pomfret. TYRWHITT.

I have adopted the emendation, because in *one* scene at least it prevents the glaring impropriety mentioned by Mr. Theobald. But unfortunately, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed, this very impropriety is found in the next scene, where *Ratcliff* is introduced, and where it cannot be corrected without taking greater liberties than perhaps are justifiable. For there, in consequence

The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.⁴

[*Exeunt Council, with GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.*]

HAST. Woe, woe, for England! not a whit for me;

For I, too fond, might have prevented this :
Stanley did dream, the boar did rase his helm ;
But I disdain'd it, and did scorn to fly.
Threetimes to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,⁵

of the injudicious alteration made, I think, by the players, instead of—"Here comes the Mayor," the reading of the quarto, we find in the folio—

"Rich. But what, is *Catesby* gone ?

"He is, and see he brings the Mayor along."

Catesby being thus employed, he cannot bring in the head of *Hastings*; nor can that office be assigned to *Lovel* only; because *Gloster* in the folio mentions two persons :

"Be patient, they are friends; *Ratcliff*, and *Lovel*."

MALONE.

* *The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.]* So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594 :

"And they that love my honour, follow me."

MALONE.

⁵ *Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble, &c.]* So, in *The Legend of Lord Hastings*, by M. D. 1563. [Master Dolman.]

"My palfrey, in the playnest paved streete,

"Thryse bow'd his boanes, thryse kneled on the flower,

"Thryse shonnd (as Balams asse) the dreaded tower."

To stumble was anciently esteem'd a bad omen. So, in *The Honest Lawyer*: "And just at the threshold Master Bromley stumbled. Signs ! signs !"

The housings of a horse, and sometimes a horse himself, were anciently denominated a *foot-cloth*. So, in Ben Jonson's play called *The Case is Altered*:

"I'll go on my *foot-cloth*, I'll turn gentleman."

Again, in *A fair Quarrel*, by Middleton, 1617 :

" — thou shalt have a physician,

" The best that gold can fetch upon his *foot-cloth*."

Again, in *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, 1610 :

And startled, when he look'd upon the Tower,
 As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house.
 O, now I want the priest that spake to me :
 I now repent I told the pursuivant,
 As too triumphing, how mine enemies,
 To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,
 And I myself secure in grace and favour.
 O, Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse
 Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head.

CATE. Despatch, my lord, the duke would be at dinner ;
 Make a short shrift, he longs to see your head.

HAST. O momentary grace of mortal men,
 Which we more hunt for than the grace of God !
 Who builds his hope in air of your fair looks,⁶
 Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast ;
 Ready, with every nod, to tumble down
 Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

“ — nor shall I need to try
 “ Whether my well-greas'd tumbling foot-cloth nag
 “ Be able to out-run a well-breath'd catchpole.”

STEEVENS.

Stanley did dream, the boar did rase his helm ;—

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,] So Holinshed, after Sir Thomas More : “ A marvellous case it is to heare, either the warnings of that he should have voided, or the tokens of that he could not voide, for the selfe night next before his death the L. Stanley sent a trustie secret messenger unto him at midnight, in all the haste, &c. [See p. 384, n. 9.] — Certain it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which he [Hastings] was beheaded, his horse twise or thrise stumbled with him, almost to the falling : which thing, albeit each man wot well daily happeneth to them to whome no such mischance is toward: yet hath it beene of an old rite and custome observed as a token oftentimes notable foregoinge some great misfortune.” MALONE.

⁶ *Who builds &c.] So, Horace :*

“ Nescius auræ fallacis.” JOHNSON.

Lov. Come, come, despatch ; 'tis bootless to exclaim.

Hast. O, bloody Richard !—miserable England ! I prophecy the fearful'st time to thee, That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.— Come, lead me to the block,⁷ bear him my head ; They smile at me, who shortly shall be dead.⁸

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

The same. The Tower Walls.

Enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM, in rusty armour,⁹ marvellous ill-favoured.

Glo. Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change thy colour ? Murder thy breath in middle of a word,—

⁷ *Come, lead me to the block,*] William Lord Hastings was beheaded on the 13th of June, 1483. His eldest son by Catharine Neville, daughter of Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury, and widow of William Lord Bonville, was restored to his honours and estate by King Henry VII. in the first year of his reign.—The daughter of Lady Hastings by her first husband was married to the Marquis of Dorset, who appears in the present play.

MALONE.

⁸ *They smile at me, who shortly shall be dead.*] i. e. those who now smile at me, shall be shortly dead themselves. MALONE.

⁹ — *in rusty armour, &c.*] Thus Holinshed : “ The protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantial men out of the citie into the Tower ; and at their coming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should weene that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backes, except that some sudden necessitie had constreined them.” STEEVENS.

And then again begin, and stop again,
As if thou wert distraught, and mad with terror?

BUCK. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
Speak, and look back, and pry on every side,
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
Intending deep suspicion:¹ ghastly looks
Are at my service, like enforced smiles;
And both are ready in their offices,
At any time, to grace my stratagems.
But what, is Catesby gone?

GLO. He is; and, see, he brings the mayor along.

Enter the Lord Mayor and CATESBY.

BUCK. Let me alone to entertain him.—Lord mayor,—

GLO. Look to the draw-bridge there.

BUCK. Hark, hark! a drum.²

GLO. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

BUCK. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent for you,—

GLO. Look back, defend thee, here are enemies.

BUCK. God and our innocence defend and guard us!

¹ Intending deep suspicion:] i. e. pretending. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing*:

“Intend a kind of zeal both to the Prince and Claudio.”
STEEVENS.

See Vol. IX. p. 136, n. 6. MALONE.

² Hark, hark! a drum.] I have repeated the interjection—
hark, for the sake of metre. STEEVENS.

Enter Lovel and Ratcliff,³ with Hastings's Head.

Glo. Be patient, they are friends ; Ratcliff, and Lovel.

Lov. Here is the head of that ignoble traitor, The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.

Glo. So dear I lov'd the man, that I must weep. I took him for the plainest harmless't creature,⁴ That breath'd upon the earth a Christian ;⁵ Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded The history of all her secret thoughts : So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue, That, his apparent open-guilt omitted,— I mean, his conversation⁶ with Shore's wife,—

³ *Enter Lovel and Ratcliff,*] The quarto has—“ Enter Catesby, with Hastings' head,” and Gloster, on his entry, says—“ O, O, be quiet, it is Catesby.” For this absurd alteration, by which Ratcliff is represented at Pomfret and in London at the same time, I have no doubt that the player-editors are answerable.

MALONE.

⁴ —— *harmless't creature,*] The old copies read *harmless*; but grammar requires *harmless't*, (i. e. *harmlessest*,) a common contraction, as I am assured, both in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. So afterwards, p. 406, we have *covert'st* for *covertest*.

STEEVENS.

⁵ —— *the earth a Christian;*] Here the quarto adds :

Look you, my lord mayor.

This hemistich I have inserted in the following speech of Buckingham, to which I believe it originally belonged; as without it we meet with an imperfect verse :

“ Well, well he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor

“ That ever liv'd.

“ Would you imagine,” &c.

I have since observed, that Mr. Capell has the same transposition. STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *his conversation*—] i. e. familiar intercourse. The phrase—*criminal conversation*, is yet in daily use. MALONE.

He liv'd from all attainer of suspect.

BUCK. Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor

That ever liv'd.—Look you, my lord mayor,
Would you imagine, or almost believe,
(Were't not, that by great preservation
We live to tell it you,) the subtle traitor
This day had plotted, in the council-house,
To murder me, and my good lord of Gloster?

MAY. What! had he so?

GLO. What! think you we are Turks, or infidels?
Or that we would, against the form of law,
Proceed thus rashly in the villain's death;
But that the extreme peril of the case,
The peace of England, and our persons' safety,
Enforc'd us to this execution?

MAY. Now, fair befal you! he deserv'd his death;
And your good graces both have well proceeded,
To warn false traitors from the like attempts.
I never look'd for better at his hands,
After he once fell in with mistress Shore.

BUCK. Yet had we not determin'd he should die,
Until your lordship came to see his end;
Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
Somewhat against our meaning, hath prevented:
Because, my lord, we would have had you heard
The traitor speak, and timorously confess
The manner and the purpose of his treasons;
That you might well have signified the same
Unto the citizens, who, haply, may
Misconstrue us in him, and wail his death.

MAY. But, my good lord, your grace's word
shall serve,
As well as I had seen, and heard him speak:

And do not doubt, right noble princes both,
But I'll acquaint our dutious citizens
With all your just proceedings in this case.

Glo. And to that end we wish'd your lordship
here,
To avoid the censures of the carping world.

BUCK. But since you came too late of our intent,⁷
Yet witness what you hear we did intend :
And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell.

[*Exit Lord Mayor.*

Glo. Go, after, after, cousin Buckingham.
The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all post :—
There, at your meetest vantage of the time,
Infer the bastardy of Edward's children :
Tell them, how Edward put to death a citizen,⁸
Only for saying—he would make his son
Heir to the crown ; meaning, indeed, his house,
Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so.
Moreover, urge his hateful luxury,
And bestial appetite in change of lust ;
Which stretch'd unto their servants, daughters,
wives,
Even where his raging eye, or savage heart,
Without controul, listed⁹ to make his prey.

⁷ *But since you came too late of our intent,*] Perhaps we should read—“*too late for our intent.*” M. MASON.

The old reading I suppose to be the true one. We still say “*to come short of a thing,*” and why not “*come late of an intent?*” STEEVENS.

⁸ — *put to death a citizen,*] This person was one Walker, a substantial citizen and grocer at the *Crown* in Cheapside.

GREY.

⁹ — *his raging eye, — listed —*] The former is the reading of the folio, the latter of the quarto. The quarto has—*lustful* eye, and the folio—*usted* instead of *listed*. Modern editors without authority—*ranging* eye. STEEVENS.

Nay, for a need, thus far come near my person :—
 Tell them,¹ when that my mother went with child
 Of that insatiate Edward, noble York,
 My princely father, then had wars in France ;
 And, by just computation of the time,
 Found, that the issue was not his begot ;
 Which well appeared in his lineaments,
 Being nothing like the noble duke my father :
 Yet touch this sparingly, as 'twere far off ;
 Because, my lord, you know, my mother lives.

BUCK. Doubt not, my lord ; I'll play the orator,
 As if the golden fee, for which I plead,
 Were for myself : and so, my lord, adieu.

GLO. If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's
 castle ;²

Where you shall find me well accompanied,
 With reverend fathers, and well-learned bishops.

BUCK. I go ; and, towards three or four o'clock,
 Look for the news that the Guild-hall affords.

[*Exit BUCKINGHAM.*

GLO. Go, Lovel, with all speed to doctor Shaw,³—

¹ *Tell them, &c.]* Whatever reason W. Wyrcester might have for being so very particular, he expressly tells us that Edward was conceived in the chamber next to the chapel of the palace of Hatfield. York was regent of France at that time, and had come over, it would seem, to visit his lady. RITSON,

² — to Baynard's castle ;] It was originally built by Baynard, a nobleman who (according to Stowe's account) came in with the conqueror.

This edifice which stood in Thames Street, has long been pulled down, though parts of its strong foundations are still visible at low water. The site of it is now a timber-yard.

STEEVENS.

³ — to doctor Shaw,—] This and the two following lines are not in the quarto. Shaw and Penker were two popular preachers.—Instead of a pamphlet being published by the Secretary of the Treasury, to furnish the advocates for the administra-

Go thou [To CAT.] to friar Penker;⁴—bid them both

Meet me, within this hour, at Baynard's castle.

[*Exeunt LOVEL and CATESBY.*

Now will I in, to take some privy order

To draw the brats of Clarence⁵ out of sight;

tion of the day, with plausible topicks of argument on great political measures, (the established mode of the present time) formerly it was customary to publish the court creed from the pulpit at Saint Paul's Cross. As Richard now employed Doctor Shaw to support his claim to the crown, so, about fifteen years before, the great Earl of Warwick employed his chaplain Doctor Goddard to convince the people that Henry VI. ought to be restored, and that Edward IV. was an usurper. MALONE.

⁴ This *Pinker* or *Penker* was provincial of the *Augustine* friars. See *Speed.* STEEVENS.

⁵ — *the brats of Clarence*] Edward Earl of Warwick, who the day after the battle of Bosworth, was sent by Richmond from Sheriff-hutton Castle (where Gloster had confined him,) to the Tower, without even the shadow of an allegation against him, and executed with equal injustice on Tower-hill on the 21st of November, 1499; and Margaret, afterwards married to Sir Richard de la Pole, the last Princess of the house of Lancaster; who was created by King Henry VIII. Countess of Salisbury, and in the 31st year of his reign, (1540) at the age of seventy, was put to death by the sanguinary king then on the throne, as her unfortunate and innocent brother had before fallen a victim to the jealous policy of that crafty tyrant Henry VII.

The immediate cause of his being put to death was, that Ferdinand King of Spain was unwilling to consent to the marriage of his daughter Katharine to Arthur Prince of Wales, while the Earl of Warwick lived, there being during his life-time (as Ferdinand conceived) no assurance of the Prince's succession to the crown.

The murder of the Earl of Warwick (for it deserves no other name) made such an impression on Katharine, that when she was first informed of Henry the Eighth's intention to repudiate her, she exclaimed, "I have not offended, but it is a just judgment of God, for my former marriage was made in blood."

And to give notice, that no manner of person⁶
Have, any time, recourse unto the princes. [Exit.

SCENE VI.

*A Street.**Enter a Scrivener.*

SCRIV. Here is the indictment of the good lord Hastings;

Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd,
That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's.⁷
And mark how well the sequel hangs together:—
Eleven hours I have spent to write it over,
For yesternight by Catesby was it sent me;
The precedent⁸ was full as long a doing:

⁶ —— *no manner of person*—] The folio reads—no manner person, which is nonsense. I suppose the true reading is—*no man, or person*; as in the latter term females are included.

STEEVENS.

⁷ —— *read o'er in Paul's.*] The substance of this speech is from Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 16: “Nowe was thys proclamation made within twoo houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyted, and so fayre writen in parchment, in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of itselfe so long a processe, that every chyld might perceyve that it was prepared and studyed before, (and as some men thought, by Catesby,) for all the tyme betwene his death and the proclamacion—coulde scant have suffyced unto the bare writyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper scribeled furthe in haste at adventure.—And a marchaunte that stooode by—sayed that it was wrytten by inspiracyon and prophesye.”

Mr. Malone adds—“ So Holinshed, after Sir Thomas More;” and then repeats the same quotation. STEEVENS.

⁸ *The precedent*—] The original draft from which the engrossment was made. MALONE.

And yet within these five hours Hastings liv'd,
Untainted, unexamin'd, free, at liberty.
Here's a good world the while!—Who is so gross,
That cannot see this palpable device?
Yet who so bold, but says—he sees it not?
Bad is the world; and all will come to nought,
When such bad dealing must be seen in thought.⁹

[*Exit.*

SCENE VII.

*The same. Court of Baynard's Castle.*¹

Enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM, meeting.

GLO. How now, how now? what say the citizens?

BUCK. Now by the holy mother of our Lord,
The citizens are mum, say not a word.

GLO. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's chil-
dren?

BUCK. I did; with his contráct with Lady Lucy,²

⁹ — *seen in thought.*] That is, seen in silence, without no-
tice or detection. JOHNSON.

¹ *Baynard's Castle.*] A castle in Thames Street, which had
belonged to Richard Duke of York, and at this time was the pro-
perty of his grandson King Edward V. MALONE.

² — *with his contráct with Lady Lucy,*] The King had
been familiar with this lady before his marriage, to obstruct which
his mother alledged a pre-contract between them: “Whereupon,
says the historian, dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and al-
beit she was by the kyng hys mother, and many other, put in
good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge, yet
when she was solempnly sworne to saye y^e truth, she confessed
she was never ensured. Howbeit, she sayd his grace spake suche
loving wordes to her, that she verily hoped that he would have

And his contract by deputy in France :
 The insatiate greediness of his desires,
 And his enforcement of the city wives ;
 His tyranny for trifles ; his own bastardy,—
 As being got, your father then in France ;³

maried her ; and that yf such kinde woordes had not bene, she woulde never have showed such kindnesse to him to lette hym so kyndely gette her wyth chylde.” *Hall*, Edward V. fo. 19.

RITSON.

This objection to King Edward’s marriage with Lady Grey, is said by Sir Thomas More to have been made by the Duchess Dowager of York, Edward’s mother, who was averse to the match, before he espoused that lady. But Elizabeth Lucy, the daughter of one Wyat, and the wife of one Lucy, being sworn to speak the truth, declared that the King had not been affianced to her, though she owned she had been his concubine. Philip de Comines, a contemporary historian, says that Edward, previous to his marriage with Lady Grey, was married to an English lady by the Bishop of Bath, who revealed the secret ; and according to the Chronicle of Croyland this Lady was Lady Eleanor Butler, widow of Lord Butler of Sudley, and daughter to the great Earl of Shrewsbury. On this ground the children of Edward were declared illegitimate by the only parliament assembled by King Richard III.; but no mention was made of Elizabeth Lucy.

Shakspeare followed Holinshed, who copied Hall, as Hall transcribed the account given by Sir Thomas More. MALONE.

³ — his own bastardy,—

As being got, your father then in France ;] This tale is supposed to have been first propagated by the Duke of Clarence, soon after he, in conjunction with his father-in-law the Earl of Warwick, restored King Henry VI. to the throne ; at which time he obtained a settlement of the crown on himself and his issue, after the death of Henry and his heirs male. Sir Thomas More says, that the Duke of Gloucester soon after Edward’s death revived this tale ; but Mr. Walpole very justly observes, that it is highly improbable that Richard should have urged such a topick to the people ; that he should “ start doubts concerning his own legitimacy, which was too much connected with that of his brothers to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude.” The same ingenious writer has also shown, that Richard “ lived in perfect harmony with his mother, and lodged with her in her palace at this very time.” *Historick Doubts*, quarto, 1768.

MALONE.

And his resemblance, being not like the duke.
 Withal, I did infer your lineaments,—
 Being the right idea of your father,
 Both in your form and nobleness of mind :
 Laid open all your victories in Scotland,
 Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
 Your bounty, virtue, fair humility ;
 Indeed, left nothing, fitting for your purpose,
 Untouch'd, or slightly handled, in discourse.
 And, when my oratory grew to an end,
 I bade them, that did love their country's good,
 Cry—*God save Richard, England's royal king !*

GLO. And did they so ?

BUCK. No, so God help me, they spake not a word ;

But, like dumb statuas, or breathless stones,⁴
 Star'd on each other, and look'd deadly pale.
 Which when I saw, I reprehended them ;
 And ask'd the mayor, what meant this wilful silence :
 His answer was,—the people were not us'd
 To be spoke to, but by the recorder.
 Then he was urg'd to tell my tale again ;—
Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferr'd ;
 But nothing spoke in warrant from himself.
 When he had done, some followers of mine own,
 At lower end o'the hall, hurl'd up their caps,
 And some ten voices cried, *God save king Richard !*
 And thus I took the vantage of those few,—
Thanks, gentle citizens, and friends, quoth I ;

⁴ *But, like dumb statuas, or breathless stones,*] See Mr. Reed's very decisive account of the word—*statua*, in a note on *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Vol. IV. p. 290, n. 6.

The eldest quartos, 1597 and 1598, together with the first folio, read—*breathing*. The modern editors, with Mr. Rowe, —*unbreathing*. *Breathless* is the reading of the quarto 1612.

*This general applause, and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom, and your love to Richard :
And even here brake off, and came away.*

GLO. What tongueless blocks were they ; Would they not speak ?

Will not the mayor then, and his brethren, come ?

BUCK. The mayor is here at hand ; intend some fear ;⁵

Be not you spoke with, but by mighty suit :
And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
And stand between two churchmen, good my lord ;
For on that ground I'll make a holy descant :
And be not easily won to our requests ;
Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it.

GLO. I go ; And if you plead as well for them,
As I can say nay to thee⁶ for myself,
No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

BUCK. Go, go, up to the leads ; the lord mayor knocks. [Exit GLOSTER.

⁵ —— intend some fear ;] Perhaps, pretend ; though intend will stand in the sense of giving attention. JOHNSON.

One of the ancient senses of to intend was certainly to pretend. So, in sc. v. of this Act :

“ Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
“ Intending deep suspicion.” STEEVENS.

* As I can say nay to thee—] I think it must be read :
—— if you plead as well for them
As I must say, nay to them for myself. JOHNSON.

Perhaps the change is not necessary. Buckingham is to plead for the citizens ; and if (says Richard) you speak for them as plausibly as I in my own person, or for my own purposes, shall seem to deny your suit, there is no doubt but we shall bring all to a happy issue. STEEVENS.

Enter the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens.

Welcome, my lord : I dance attendance here ;
I think, the duke will not be spoke withal.—

Enter, from the Castle, CATESBY.

Now, Catesby ! what says your lord to my request ?

CATE. He doth entreat your grace, my noble lord,

To visit him to-morrow, or next day :
He is within, with two right reverend fathers,
Divinely bent to meditation ;
And in no worldly suit would he be mov'd,
To draw him from his holy exercise.

BUCK. Return, good Catesby, to the gracious duke ;

Tell him, myself, the mayor and aldermen,
In deep designs, in matter of great moment,
No less importing than our general good,
Are come to have some conference with his grace.

CATE. I'll signify so much unto him straight.

[*Exit.*]

BUCK. Ah, ha, my lord, this prince is not an Edward !

He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,⁷
But on his knees at meditation ;
Not dallying with a brace of courtezans,
But meditating with two deep divines ;
Not sleeping, to engross⁸ his idle body,
But praying, to enrich his watchful soul :

⁷ —— *day-bed,*] i. e. a couch, or sofa. See Vol. V. p. 323, n. 9. STEEVENS.

⁸ —— *to engross*—] To fatten ; to pamper. JOHNSON.

Happy were England, would this virtuous prince
Take on himself the sovereignty thereof:
But, sure, I fear, we shall ne'er win him to it.

MAY. Marry, God defend, his grace should say
us nay!¹⁹

BUCK. I fear, he will: Here Catesby comes
again;—

Re-enter CATESBY.

Now, Catesby, what says his grace?

CATE. He wonders to what end you have assem-
bled

Such troops of citizens to come to him,
His grace not being warn'd thereof before,
He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him.

BUCK. Sorry I am, my noble cousin should
Suspect me, that I mean no good to him:
By heaven, we come to him in perfect love;
And so once more return and tell his grace.

[*Exit CATESBY.*

When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 'tis hard to draw them thence;
So sweet is zealous contemplation.

¹⁹ —— *God defend, his grace should say us nay!*] This pious and courtly Mayor was Edmund Shaw, brother to Doctor Shaw, whom Richard had employed to prove his title to the crown, from the pulpit at Saint Paul's Cross. MALONE.

Enter GLOSTER, in a Gallery above, between Two Bishops.¹ CATESBY returns.

MAR. See, where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen !

BUCK. Two props of virtue for a christian prince,
To stay him from the fall of vanity :
And, see, a book of prayer in his hand ;
True ornaments to know a holy man.²—
Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince,
Lend favourable ear to our requests ;
And pardon us the interruption
Of thy devotion, and right-christian zeal.

GLO. My lord, there needs no such apology ;
I rather do beseech you pardon me,
Who, earnest in the service of my God,
Neglect the visitation of my friends.
But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure ?

BUCK. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God above,

¹ — *between Two Bishops.*] “ At the last he came out of his chamber, and yet not downe to theim, but in a galery over theim, with a bishop on every hande of hym, where thei beneth might see hym and speake to hym, as though he woulde not yet come nere theim, til he wist what they meant,” &c. Hall’s *Chronicle*. FARMER.

So also Holinshed after him. The words “ *with a bishop on every hande of hym*,” are an interpolation by Hall, or rather by Grafton, (See his Continuation of Harding’s *Chronicle*, 1543, fol. 75,) not being found in Sir Thomas More’s *History of King Richard III.* folio, 1557, from whom the rest of the sentence is transcribed. MALONE.

² — *to know a holy man.*] i. e. to know a holy man *by*. See Vol. XV. p. 196, n. 4, and a note on *Coriolanus*, Act III. sc. ii. where several instances of a similar phraseology are given. MALONE.

And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.

Glo. I do suspect, I have done some offence,
That seems disgracious in the city's eye ;
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.

BUCK. You have, my lord ; Would it might
please your grace,
On our entreaties to amend your fault !

Glo. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian
land ?

BUCK. Know, then, it is your fault, that you re-
sign

The supreme seat, the throne majestical,
The scepter'd office of your ancestors,
Your state of fortune, and your due of birth,
The lineal glory of your royal house,
To the corruption of a blemish'd stock :
Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy thoughts,
(Which here we waken to our country's good,)
The noble isle doth want her proper limbs ;³
Her face defac'd with scars of infamy,
Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants,⁴
And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulf
Of dark forgetfulness⁵ and deep oblivion.

³ —— her *proper limbs* ;] Thus the quarto 1598. The folio has — *his* limbs ; an error which I should not mention, but that it justifies corrections that I have made in other places, where, for want of more ancient copies than one, conjectural emendation became necessary. See Vol. VIII. p. 184, n. 4. MALONE.

⁴ Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants,] Shakspeare seems to have recollected the text on which Dr. Shaw preached his remarkable Sermon at Saint Paul's Cross : “ Bastard slips shall never take deep root.” MALONE.

⁵ And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulph
Of dark forgetfulness—] What it is to be *shoulder'd in a gulph*, Hanmer is the only editor who seems not to have known; for the rest let it pass without observation. He reads :

Which to recure,⁶ we heartily solicit
Your gracious self to take on you the charge

Almost shoulder'd into th' swallowing gulph.

I believe we should read :

And almost smoulder'd in the swallowing gulph.

That is, almost smother'd, covered and lost. JOHNSON.

I suppose the old reading to be the true one. So, in *The Barons' Wars*, by Drayton, canto i :

"Stoutly t' affront and shoulder in debate."

In is used for *into*. So before in this play :

"But first I'll turn yon fellow in his grave."

Again, *ibid* :

"Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects."

Shoulder'd has the same meaning as *rudely thrust into*.

So, in a curious ancient paper quoted by Mr. Lysons in his *Environs of London*, Vol. III. p. 80, n. 1 : "—lyke tyraunts and lyke madde men helpynge to shulderynge other of the sayd bannermen ynto the dyche," &c. Again, in Arthur Hall's translation of the second *Iliad*, 1581 :

"He preaseth him, him he again, shouldring ech one his feere." STEEVENS.

Shoulder'd is, I believe, the true reading ;—not, thrust in by the shoulders, but, immersed up to the shoulders. So, in *Othello* :

"Steep'd me in poverty to the very lips."

"This passage in *Othello*," says Mr. M. Mason, "is nothing to the purpose. Had Othello used the word *lipp'd*, to signify immersed up to the lips, that indeed would justify our supposing that *shoulder'd* might mean immersed up to the shoulders." But the critick mistook the purpose for which the passage was adduced. It was quoted, not to support the word, "*shoulder'd*," but to show that the same idea had been elsewhere introduced by Shakspeare ; that, as in *Othello* he had spoken of being plunged in *poverty to the lips*, so here he might have intended to describe the royal stock as immerged up to the shoulders in *oblivion*.

The word *shoulder'd*, in the following lines of Spenser's *Ruins of Rome*, 1591, may certainly only have been used in its more ordinary signification ; but I am not sure that the author did not employ it as it is here used by Shakspeare :

"Like as ye see the wrathful sea from farre,

"In a great mountaine heapt with hideous noise,

"Eftsoones of thousand billows *shoulder'd* narre,

"Against a rock to break with dreadful poysse—."

And kingly government of this your land :
 Not as protector, steward, substitute,
 Or lowly factor for another's gain :
 But as successively, from blood to blood,
 Your right of birth, your empery, your own.
 For this, consorted with the citizens,
 Your very worshipful and loving friends,
 And by their vehement instigation,
 In this just suit come I to move your grace.

Glo. I cannot tell, if to depart in silence,
 Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,
 Best fitteth my degree, or your condition :
 If, not to answer,⁷—you might haply think,
 Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded
 To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
 Which fondly you would here impose on me ;
 If to reprove you for this suit of yours,
 So season'd with your faithful love to me,
 Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends.
 Therefore,—to speak, and to avoid the first ;
 And then, in speaking, not to incur the last,—
 Definitively thus I answer you.
 Your love deserves my thanks ; but my desert
 Unmeritable, shuns your high request.
 First, if all obstacles were cut away,

However the word may have been employed in the foregoing passage, its existence in our author's time is ascertained by it.

MALONE.

⁶ *Which to recure,]* To *recure* is to *recover*. This word is frequently used by Spenser; and both as a verb and a substantive in Lyly's *Endymion*, 1591. STEEVENS.

⁷ *If, not to answer,]* If I should take the former course, and depart in silence, &c. So below: “*If, to reprove,*” &c. The editor of the second folio reads—*For* not to answer; and his capricious alteration of the text has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. This and the nine following lines are not in the quarto. MALONE.

And that my path were even to the crown,
 As the ripe revenue and due of birth;⁸
 Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,
 So mighty, and so many, my defects,
 That I would rather hide me from my greatness,—
 Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,—
 Than in my greatness covet to be hid,
 And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.
 But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me ;
 (And much I need to help you,⁹ if need were;) The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,
 Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,
 Will well become the seat of majesty,
 And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.
 On him I lay what you would lay on me,
 The right and fortune of his happy stars,—
 Which, God defend, that I should wring from him!

BUCK. My lord, this argues conscience in your grace;

But the respects thereof are nice and trivial,¹
 All circumstances well considered.
 You say, that Edward is your brother's son ;

⁸ *As the ripe revenue and due of birth;*] So the folio. The quarto 1598 thus :

“ *As my right, revenue, and due by birth.*”

A preceding line seems rather to favour the original reading :

“ *Your right of birth, your empery, your own.*”

The first quarto, [1597,] I find, reads :

“ *As my ripe revenew, and due by birth.*” MALONE.

⁹ *And much I need to help you,*] And I want much of the ability requisite to give you help, if help were needed.

JOHNSON.

¹ —— are nice and trivial,] *Nice* is generally used by Shakespeare in the sense of minute, trifling, of petty import. So, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ The letter was not nice, but full of charge.”

MALONE.

So say we too, but not by Edward's wife :
 For first he was contráct to lady Lucy,
 Your mother lives a witness to his vow ;
 And afterwards by substitute betroth'd
 To Bona, sister to the king of France.²
 These both put by, a poor petitioner,³
 A care-craz'd mother to a many sons,
 A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
 Even in the afternoon of her best days,
 Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,
 Seduc'd the pitch and height of all his thoughts
 To base declension and loath'd bigamy:⁴
 By her, in his unlawful bed, he got
 This Edward, whom our manners call—the prince.
 More bitterly could I expostulate,
 Save that, for reverence to some alive,⁵

² *To Bona, sister to the king of France.]* See *K. Henry VI.* P. III. Act III. sc. iii. Bona was daughter to the Duke of Savoy, and sister to Charlotte, wife to Lewis XI. King of France.

MALONE.

³ —— *a poor petitioner,]* See *King Henry VI.* P. III. Act III. p. 105. MALONE.

⁴ —— *loath'd bigamy:]* *Bigamy*, by a canon of the council of Lyons, A. D. 1274, (adopted in England by a statute in Edw. I.) was made unlawful and infamous. It differed from *Polygamy*, or having two wives at once; as it consisted in either marrying two virgins successively, or once marrying a widow.

BLACKSTONE.

— *loath'd bigamy:]* So Sir T. More, copied by Hall and Holinshed: “—the only widowhead of Elizabeth Grey, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice, as me seemeth, to restraine you from her marriage, sith it is an unfitting thing, and a verie blemish and high disparagement to the sacred majestie of a prince, (that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness, as he doth in dignity,) to be defouled with *bigamie* in his first marriage.” MALONE.

⁵ *More bitterly could I expostulate,*

Save that, for reverence to some alive,] The Duke here hints at a topic which he had touched upon in his address to the citi-

I give a sparing limit to my tongue.
 Then, good my lord, take to your royal self
 This proffer'd benefit of dignity:
 If not to bless us and the land withal,
 Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
 From the corruption of abusing time,
 Unto a lineal true-derived course.

MAY. Do, good my lord; your citizens entreat you.

BUCK. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.

CATE. O, make them joyful, grant their lawful suit.

GLO. Alas, why would you heap those cares on me?

I am unfit for state and majesty:—
 I do beseech you, take it not amiss;
 I cannot, nor I will not, yield to you.

BUCK. If you refuse it,—as in love and zeal,
 Loath to depose the child, your brother's son;
 As well we know your tenderness of heart,
 And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,⁶
 Which we have noted in you to your kindred,
 And equally, indeed, to all estates,—
 Yet know, whe'r you accept our suit or no,
 Your brother's son shall never reign our king;

zens, the pretended bastardy of Edward and Clarence. By “some alive,” is meant the Duchess of York, the mother of Edward and Richard. MALONE.

⁶ — effeminate remorse,] i. e. pity. See our author, *passim*. Thus also, in *The Miseries of enforced Marriage*, 1607:

“ Be all his days, like winter, comfortless;

“ Restless his nights, his wants remorseless.”

i. e. unpitied. STEEVENS.

But we will plant some other in your throne,
To the disgrace and downfal of your house.
And, in this resolution, here we leave you ;—
Come, citizens, we will entreat no more.

[*Exeunt BUCKINGHAM and Citizens.*

CATE. Call them again, sweet prince, accept
their suit ;
If you deny them, all the land will rue it.

GLO. Will you enforce me to a world of cares ?
Well, call them again ; I am not made of stone,⁷
But penetrable to your kind entreaties,

[*Exit CATESBY.*

Albeit against my conscience and my soul.—

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM, and the Rest.

Cousin of Buckingham,—and sage, grave men,—
Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To bear her burden, whe'r I will, or no,
I must have patience to endure the load :
But if black scandal, or foul-fac'd reproach,
Attend the sequel of your imposition,
Your mere enforcement shall acquittance me
From all the impure blots and stains thereof ;
For God he knows, and you may partly see,
How far I am from the desire of this.

MAY. God bless your grace ! we see it, and will
say it.

GLO. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.

BUCK. Then I salute you with this royal title,—
Long live king Richard, England's worthy king !

ALL. Amen.

⁷ —— *I am not made of stone,*] The quarto and folio have—
stones. Mr. Pope made the emendation. MALONE.

BUCK. To-morrow may it please you to be crown'd?

Glo. Even when you please, since you will have it so.

BUCK. To-morrow then we will attend your grace;

And so, most joyfully, we take our leave.

Glo. Come, let us to our holy work again:—

[*To the Bishops.*

Farewell, good cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.⁸

[*Exeunt.*

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Before the Tower.

Enter, on one side, Queen ELIZABETH, Duchess of YORK, and Marquis of DORSET; on the other, ANNE, Duchess of Gloster,⁹ leading Lady MARGARET PLANTAGENET, Clarence's young Daughter.

DUCH. Who meets us here?—my niece Plantagenet

Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?¹

⁸ *Farewell, good cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.]* To this Act should, perhaps, be added the next scene, so will the coronation pass between the Acts; and there will not only be a proper interval of action, but the conclusion will be more forcible. JOHNSON.

⁹ — *Anne, Duchess of Gloster,]* We have not seen this lady since the second scene of the first Act, in which she promised to meet Richard at Crosby-place. She was married about the year 1472. MALONE.

Now, for my life, she's wand'ring to the Tower,
On pure heart's love, to greet the tender prince.—
Daughter, well met.

ANNE. God give your graces both
A happy and a joyful time of day!

Q. ELIZ. As much to you, good sister ! Whither
away ?

ANNE. No further than the Tower ; and, as I
guess,

Upon the like devotion as yourselves,
To gratulate the gentle princes there.

Q. ELIZ. Kind sister, thanks ; we'll enter all
together :

Enter BRAKENBURY.

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.—
Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
How doth the prince, and my young son of York?

BRAK. Right well, dear madam : By your pa-
tience,
I may not suffer you to visit them ;
The king hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

¹ Who meets us here ?—my niece Plantagenet

Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster ?] Here is a man-
ifest intimation, that the Duchess of Gloster leads in somebody
in her hand ; but there is no direction marked in any of the
copies, from which we can learn who it is. I have ventured to
guess it must be Clarence's young daughter. The old Duchess
of York calls her *niece*, i. e. grand-daughter ; as grand-children
are frequently called *nephews*. THEOBALD.

So, in *Othello*, nephews for grand-children : “ —you'll have
your daughter covered with a Barbary horse, you'll have your
nephews neigh to you.” MALONE.

See note on *Othello*, Act I. sc. i. STEEVENS.

Q. ELIZ. The king! who's that?

BRAK. I mean, the lord protector.

Q. ELIZ. The Lord protect him from that kingly title!

Hath he set bounds between their love, and me?
I am their mother, who shall bar me from them?

DUCH. I am their father's mother, I will see them.

ANNE. Their aunt I am in law, in love their mother:

Then bring me to their sights; I'll bear thy blame,
And take thy office from thee, on my peril.

BRAK. No, madam, no, I may not leave it so;²
I am bound by oath, and therefore pardon me.

[*Exit BRAKENBURY.*

Enter STANLEY.

STAN. Let me but meet you, ladies, one hour hence,

And I'll salute your grace of York as mother,
And reverend looker-on of two fair queens.—

Come, madam, you must straight to Westminster.

[*To the Duchess of Gloster.*
There to be crowned Richard's royal queen.

Q. ELIZ. Ah, cut my lace asunder!

That my pent heart may have some scope to beat,
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news.

ANNE. Despiteful tidings! O unpleasing news!

² — *I may not leave it so;*] That is, *I may not so resign my office*, which you offer to take on you at your peril.

DOR. Be of good cheer :—Mother, how fares your grace?

Q. ELIZ. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee gone,

Death and destruction dog thee at the heels ;
 Thy mother's name is ominous to children :
 If thou wilt outstrip death, go cross the seas,
 And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell.
 Go, hie thee, hie thee, from this slaughter-house,
 Lest thou increase the number of the dead ;
 And make me die the thrall of Margaret's curse,—
 Nor mother, wife,³ nor England's counted queen.

STAN. Full of wise care is this your counsel, madam :—

Take all the swift advantage of the hours ;
 You shall have letters from me to my son
 In your behalf, to meet you on the way :
 Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

DUCH. O ill-dispersing wind of misery !—
 O my accursed womb, the bed of death ;
 A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
 Whose unavoided eye is murderous!⁴

STAN. Come, madam, come ; I in all haste was sent.

ANNE. And I with all unwillingness will go.—
 O, would to God, that the inclusive verge
 Of golden metal, that must round my brow,

³ *Nor mother, wife, &c.]* See p. 311. STEEVENS.

⁴ *A cockatrice—*

Whose unavoided eye is murderous!] So, in Romeo and Juliet :

“ — the death-darting *eye of cockatrice.*”

The *cockatrice* is a serpent supposed to originate from a cock's egg. STEEVENS.

Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brain !⁵

[*“Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brain !”*] She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, or any other egregious criminal, viz. by placing a crown of iron, heated red-hot, upon his head. See *Respublica & Status Hungariæ, ex Offic. Elziv.* 1634, p. 136. In the tragedy of *Hoffman*, 1631, this punishment is also introduced :

“ Fix on thy master’s head my *burning crown.*”

Again :

“ And wear his *crown made hot with flaming fire.*”

“ Bring forth the *burning crown* there.”

Again :

“ _____ was adjudg’d

“ To have his head *sear’d with a burning crown.*”

Thus also, in A. Wyntown’s *Cronykil*, B. VIII. ch. xlivii. v. 40 :

“ Til this Jak Bonhowme he mad a *crown*

“ Of a brandreth all red hate—

“ And set it swá on his hevyd,

“ That it frá hym the lyf thare revyd.”

Again, in *Looke about you*, a comedy, 1600 :

“ Ere on thy head I set a *burning crowne*,

“ Of red hot yron, that shall *seare thy braines.*”

In some of the monkish accounts of a place of future torment, a *burning crown* is likewise appropriated to those who deprived any lawful monarch of his kingdom. STEEVENS.

So Marlowe, in his *King Edward II.*:

“ _____ if proud Mortimer do wear this *crown*,

“ Heaven turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire.”

MALONE.

Marlowe’s allusion is to the fatal crown which Creusa received, as a nuptial gift, from Medea :

“ Χρυσοῦς μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ κέιμενος πλόκος,

“ Θαυμαστὸν γε νῦμα παμφάγου πυρος.”

Euripidis *Medea*, v. 1195. STEEVENS.

John, the son of Vaivode Stephen, having defeated the army of Hungarian peasants, called Croisadoes, in 1514, caused their general, “ called George, to be stript naked, upon whose head the executioner set a crown of hot burning iron.” Goulart’s *Admirable and memorable Histories*, 1607. This is the fact to which Goldsmith alludes :

“ *Luke’s iron crown*, and *Damien’s bed of steel.*”

Though it was *George*, and not his brother *Luke*, who was so

Anointed let me be with deadly venom;
And die, ere men can say—God save the queen!

Q. ELIZ. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy
glory;
To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm.

ANNE. No! why?—When he, that is my hus-
band now,
Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse;
When scarce the blood was well wash'd from his
hands,

Which issu'd from my other angel husband,
And that dead saint which then I weeping follow'd;
O, when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face,
This was my wish,—*Be thou, quoth I, accurs'd,*
For making me, so young, so old a widow!
And, when thou wed'st, let sorrow haunt thy bed;
And be thy wife (if any be so mad)
More miserable by the life of thee,
Than thou hast made me by my dear lord's death!
Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Even in so short a space, my woman's heart
Grossly grew captive to his honey words,
And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's curse:
Which ever since hath held mine eyes from rest;
For never yet one hour in his bed⁶
Did I enjoy the golden dew of sleep,
But with his timorous dreams⁷ was still awak'd.

punished: but *George's* would not suit the poet's metre. The Earl of Atholl, who was executed on account of the murder of James I. King of Scots, was, previous to his death, "crowned with a hot iron." See Holinshed. RITSON.

⁶ *For never yet one hour in his bed—]* *Hour* is here, as in many other places, used by Shakspeare as a dissyllable.

MALONE.

⁷ *But with his timorous dreams—]* 'Tis recorded by Polydore

Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick ;
And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

Q. ELIZ. Poor heart, adieu ; I pity thy complaining.

ANNE. No more than with my soul I mourn for yours.

DOR. Farewell, thou woful welcomer of glory !

ANNE. Adieu, poor soul, that tak'st thy leave of it !

DUCH. Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune guide thee !— [To DORSET.

Go thou to Richard, and good angels tend thee !— [To ANNE.

Go thou to sanctuary, and good thoughts possess thee ! [To Q. ELIZABETH.

I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me !
Eighty odd years⁸ of sorrow have I seen,
And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.⁹

Virgil, that Richard was frequently disturbed by terrible dreams : this is therefore no fiction. JOHNSON.

Perhaps the narratives of Polydore Virgil, like those of Hector Boethius, are of slight authority. Such at least, respecting the former of these writers, was the opinion of Owen, our epigrammatist :

“ Virgilii duo sunt ; alter Maro ; tu, *Polydore*,
“ Alter ; tu *mendax*, ille poeta fuit.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *Eighty odd years &c.]* Shakspeare has here, I believe, spoken at random. The present scene is in 1483. Richard, Duke of York, the husband of this lady, had he been then living, would have been but *seventy-three* years old, and we may reasonably suppose that his Duchess was younger than he was. Nor did she go speedily to her grave. She lived till 1495.

MALONE.

⁹ *And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.]* Teen is sorrow. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ And yet to my teen be it spoken,” &c.

Q. ELIZ. Stay yet;¹ look back, with me, unto
the Tower.—

Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!
Rough cradle for such little pretty ones!
Rude ragged nurse! old sullen play-fellow²
For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell.³

[*Exeunt.*

Again, in *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

“ Flies have their spleen, each silly ant his *teens*. ”

STEEVENS.

So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*:

“ Who buys a minute’s mirth, to wail a week? ”

“ Short pleasure, long lament,” is one of Ray’s proverbial sentences. MALONE.

¹ *Stay yet; &c.*] This speech is not in the quarto. MALONE.

² *Rude ragged nurse! old sullen play-fellow—*] To call the Tower *nurse* and *play-fellow* is very harsh: perhaps part of this speech is addressed to the Tower, and part to the Lieutenant.

JOHNSON.

* The last line of this speech—

So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell,
proves that the whole of it is addressed to the Tower, and apologizes for the absurdity of that address, by attributing it to sorrow. M. MASON.

³ *So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell.*] Hither the third Act should be extended, and here it very properly ends with a pause of action. JOHNSON.

The folio has—*sorrows*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

SCENE II.

A Room of State in the Palace.

Flourish of Trumpets. RICHARD, as King upon his Throne; BUCKINGHAM, CATESBY, a Page, and Others.

K. RICH. Stand all apart.—Cousin of Buckingham,—

BUCK. My gracious sovereign.

K. RICH. Give me thy hand. Thus high, by thy advice,

And thy assistance, is king Richard seated :—
But shall we wear these glories for a day ?
Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them ?

BUCK. Still live they, and for ever let them last !

K. RICH. Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,⁴

To try if thou be current gold, indeed :—
Young Edward lives ;—Think now what I would speak.

BUCK. Say on, my loving lord.

⁴ — now do I play the touch,] To play the touch is to represent the touchstone.

So, in the 16th Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*:

“ With alabaster, tuch, and porphyry adorn'd.”

Again, in the epistle of *Mary the French Queen to Charles Brandon*, by Drayton :

“ Before mine eye, like touch, thy shape did prove.”

Again, in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. I. c. iii :

“ Though true as touch, though daughter of a king.”

STEEVENS.

K. Rich. Why, Buckingham, I say, I would be king.

BUCK. Why, so you are, my thrice-renowned liege.

K. Rich. Ha! am I king? 'Tis so: but Edward lives.

BUCK. True, noble prince.

K. Rich. O bitter consequence,
That Edward still should live,—true, noble prince!—
Cousin, thou wast not wont to be so dull:—
Shall I be plain? I wish the bastards dead;
And I would have it suddenly perform'd.
What say'st thou now? speak suddenly, be brief.

BUCK. Your grace may do your pleasure.

K. Rich. Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness freezes:

Say, have I thy consent, that they shall die?

BUCK. Give me some breath, some little pause,
dear lord,
Before I positively speak in this:
I will resolve your grace immediately.

[*Exit BUCKINGHAM.*

CATE. The king is angry; see, he gnaws his lip.⁵

[*Aside.*

K. Rich. I will converse with iron-witted fools,
[*Descends from his Throne.*
And unrespective boys;⁶ none are for me,

⁵ — see, he gnaws his lip.] Several of our ancient historians observe, that this was an accustomed action of Richard, whether he was pensive or angry. STEEVENS.

⁶ And unrespective boys;] Unrespective is inattentive to consequences, inconsiderate.

So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599:

“ When dissolute impiety possess'd

“ The unrespective minds of prince and people.”

STEEVENS.

That look into me with considerate eyes ;—
 High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect.—
 Boy,—

PAGE. My lord.

K. RICH. Know'st thou not any, whom corrupting gold

Would tempt unto a close exploit⁷ of death ?

PAGE. I know a discontented gentleman,
 Whose humble means match not his haughty mind :
 Gold were as good as twenty orators,
 And will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.

K. RICH. What is his name ?

PAGE. His name, my lord, is—Tyrrel.

K. RICH. I partly know the man ; Go, call him hither, boy.— [Exit Page.

The deep-revolving witty⁸ Buckingham
 No more shall be the neighbour to my counsels :
 Hath he so long held out with me untir'd,
 And stops he now for breath ?—well, be it so.—

Unrespective is, devoid of cautious and prudential consideration. MALONE.

See note on the following passage in the *Rape of Lucrece*, edit. 1790, p. 102 :

“Respect and reason wait on wrinkled age.” STEEVENS.

⁷ —— *close exploit*—] Is secret act. JOHNSON.

⁸ —— *witty*—] In this place signifies *judicious* or *cunning*. A *wit* was not at this time employed to signify a *man of fancy*, but was used for *wisdom* or *judgment*. So, in Daniel’s *Cleopatra*, 1599 :

“Although unwise to live, had wit to die.”

Again, in one of Ben Jonson’s *Masques*:

“And at her feet do witty serpents move.” STEEVENS.

Enter STANLEY.

How now, lord Stanley? what's the news?

STAN. Know, my loving lord,⁹
The marquis Dorset, as I hear, is fled
To Richmond, in the parts where he abides.

K. RICH. Come hither, Catesby: rumour it abroad,
That Anne, my wife, is very grievous sick;
I will take order for her keeping close.¹
Inquire me out some mean-born gentleman,
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:—
The boy is foolish,² and I fear not him.—
Look, how thou dream'st!—I say again, give out,

⁹ Know, my loving lord,] Surely we should adopt Sir Thomas Hanmer's regulation, and give the passage thus:

How now, lord Stanley? what's the news?

My lord, &c.

Are the omitted words—*know* and *loving*, of so much value, that measure must continue to be sacrificed for their preservation?

STEEVENS.

¹ *I will take order for her keeping close.*] i. e. I will take measures that shall oblige her to keep close. So, in Marlowe's and Nashe's *Dido*, 1594, Jupiter says:

" *I will take order for that presently.*"

The same phrase occurs in *Othello*, Act V. sc. ii. STEEVENS.

² *The boy is foolish,*] Shakspeare has here perhaps anticipated the folly of his youth. He was, at this time, I believe, about ten years old, and we are not told by any historian that he had then exhibited any symptoms of folly. Being confined by King Henry VII. immediately after the battle of Bosworth, and his education being consequently entirely neglected, he is described by Polydore Virgil at the time of his death (in 1499) as an idiot; and his account (which was copied by Hall and Holinshed,) was certainly a sufficient authority for Shakspeare's representation: "Edouardus Varvici comes in carcere ab incunabulis extra hominum ferarumque conspectum nutritus, qui gallinam ab ansere non facile internosceret, cum nullo suo delicto supplicium quærere posset, alieno ad id tractus est." MALONE.

That Anne my queen is sick, and like to die :
 About it ; for it stands me much upon,³
 To stop all hopes, whose growth may damage me.—

[Exit CATESBY.]

I must be married to my brother's daughter,
 Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass :—
 Murder her brothers, and then marry her !
 Uncertain way of gain ! But I am in
 So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.⁴
 Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.—

Re-enter Page, with TYRREL.

Is thy name—Tyrrel ?⁵

TYR. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient sub-
 ject.

³ —— *it stands me much upon,*] i. e. it is of the utmost con-
 sequence to my designs. The same phrase occurs in *The Comedy
 of Errors* :

“ Consider how it stands upon my credit.”

See also *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II. sc. i. STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *But I am in*

So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.] The same re-
 flexions occur in *Macbeth* :

“ —— I am in blood

“ Step'd in so far, that should I wade no more,

“ Returning were as tedious,” &c.

Again :

“ Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.”

STEEVENS.

⁵ *Is thy name—Tyrrel?*] It seems, that a late editor (who
 boasts much of his fidelity in “ marking the places of action,
 both general and particular, and supplying scenical directions,”)
 throughout this scene, has left King Richard *on his throne* ;
 whereas he might have learnt from the following passage in Sir
 John Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, that the mon-
 arch appeared, during the present interview with Tyrrel, on *an
 elevation of much less dignity*. “ The best part (says Sir John)
 of our chronicles, in all men's opinions, is that of Richard the

K. Rich. Art thou, indeed?

Tyr. Prove me, my gracious lord.

K. Rich. Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?

Tyr. Please you; but I had rather kill two enemies.

K. Rich. Why, then thou hast it; two deep enemies,

Foes to my rest, and my sweet sleep's disturbers,
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:⁶
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.

Tyr. Let me have open means to come to them,
And soon I'll rid you from the fear of them.

K. Rich. Thou sing'st sweet musick. Hark, come hither, Tyrrel;

third, written as I have heard by Moorton, but as most suppose, by that worthy and incorrupt magistrate Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, where it is said, how the king was devising with Teril to have his nephews privily murdred; and it is added, *he was then sitting on a draught*; a fit carpet for such a counsel.” See likewise Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 735.

STEEVENS.

For Richard's mode of proceeding on this occasion, there are, it appears, many ancient and dignified precedents: “ Maximilian the emperor,” says old Montaigne, “ with other customes of his had this one, most contrary to other princes, (who, to dispatch their weightiest affaires, make often their c—e s—l their regal throne or council-chamber,) which was,” &c. Florio's translation, 1603. MALONE.

⁶ — deal upon :] So, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, &c. by Nashe, 1596: “ At Wolfe's he's billeted, sweating and dealing upon it most intently.” See also my note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act III. sc. ix. STEEVENS.

— deal upon :] i. e. act upon. We should now say—deal with; but the other was the phraseology of our author's time.

MALONE.

Go, by this token:—Rise, and lend thine ear:

[Whispers.]

There is no more but so:—Say, it is done,
And I will love thee, and prefer thee for it.

TYR. I will despatch it straight.

[Exit.]

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM.

BUCK. My lord, I have consider'd in my mind
The late demand that you did sound me in.

K. RICH. Well, let that rest. Dorset is fled to
Richmond.

BUCK. I hear the news, my lord.

K. RICH. Stanley, he is your wife's son:—Well,
look to it.

BUCK. My lord, I claim the gift, my due by pro-
mise,

For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd;
The earldom of Hereford,⁷ and the moveables,

⁷ *The earldom of Hereford, &c.]* Thomas Duke of Gloster, the fifth son of Edward the Third, married one of the daughters and coheirs of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford. The Duke of Gloster's nephew, Henry Earl of Derby, (the eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward the Third,) who was afterwards King Henry IV. married the other daughter of the Earl of Hereford. The moiety of the Hereford estate, which had been possessed by that King, was seized on by Edward IV. as legally devolved to the crown, on its being transferred from the house of Lancaster to that of York. Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham was lineally descended from Thomas Duke of Gloster, his only daughter Anne having married Edmund Earl of Stafford, and Henry being the great grandson of Edmund and Anne. In this right he and his ancestors had possessed one half of the Hereford estate; and he claimed and *actually obtained* from Richard III. after he usurped the throne, the restitution of the other half, which had been seized on by Edward; and also the earldom of Hereford, and the

Which you have promised I shall possess.

K. Rich. Stanley, look to your wife ; if she convey

Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.

BUCK. What says your highness to my just request ?

K. Rich. I do remember me,—Henry the sixth Did prophecy, that Richmond should be king, When Richmond was a little peevish boy.

A king!—perhaps⁸—

BUCK. My lord,—

K. Rich. How chance, the prophet could not at that time,

Have told me, I being by,⁹ that I should kill him?

office of Constable of England, which had long been annexed by inheritance to that earldom. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 168—169. Many of our historians, however, ascribe the breach between him and Richard to Richard's refusing to restore the moiety of the Hereford estate ; and Shakspeare has followed them.

Thomas Duke of Gloster was created Earl of Hereford in 1386, by King Richard II. on which ground the Duke of Buckingham had some pretensions to claim a new grant of the *title* ; but with respect to the moiety of the estate, he had not a shadow of right to it ; for supposing that it devolved to Edward IV. with the crown, it became, after the murder of his sons, the joint property of his daughters. If it did not devolve to King Edward IV. it belonged to the right heirs of King Henry IV. MALONE.

⁸ *A king!—perhaps—*] From hence to the words, *Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein*—have been left out ever since the first editions ; but I like them well enough to replace them.

POPE.

The allusions to the plays of *Henry VI.* are no weak proofs of the authenticity of these disputed pieces. JOHNSON.

These allusions, I trust, have been sufficiently accounted for in the *Dissertation* annexed to the preceding play. MALONE.

⁹ — *I being by,*] The Duke of Gloster was not by when

BUCK. My lord, your promise for the earldom,—

K. RICH. Richmond!—When last I was at Exeter,
The mayor in courtesy show'd me the castle,
And call'd it—Rouge-mont :¹ at which name, I
started;

Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

BUCK. My lord,—

K. RICH. Ay, what's o'clock?

BUCK. I am thus bold
To put your grace in mind of what you promis'd
me.

K. RICH. Well, but what is't o'clock?

BUCK. Upon the stroke
Of ten.

K. RICH. Well, let it strike.²

BUCK. Why, let it strike?

K. RICH. Because that, like a Jack,³ thou keep'st
the stroke

Henry uttered the prophecy. See p. 158. Our author seldom took the trouble to turn to the plays to which he referred.

MALONE.

¹ — *Rouge-mont :]* Hooker, who wrote in Queen Elizabeth's time, in his description of Exeter mentions this as a “ very old and antient castle, named Rugemont ; that is to say, the Red Hill, taking that name of the red soil or earth whereupon it is situated.” It was first built, he adds, *as some think*, by Julius Cæsar, but rather, and in truth, by the Romans after him. REED.

² *Well, let it strike.]* This seems to have been a proverbial sentence. So, in *Pierce's Supererogation, &c.* by Gabriel Harvey, 4to. 1593 : “ *Let the clock strike : I have lost more howers, and lose nothing if I find equity.*” MALONE.

³ *Because that, like a Jack, &c.]* An image, like those at St. Dunstan's church in Fleet Street, and at the market-houses at several towns in this kingdom, was usually called a *Jack of the*

Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.
I am not in the giving vein to-day.

clock-house. See Cowley's *Discourse on the Government of Oliver Cromwell.* [Vol. II. p. 650, edit. 1710.] Richard resembles Buckingham to one of those automatons, and bids him not suspend the stroke on the clock-bell, but strike, that the hour may be past, and himself be at liberty to pursue his meditations.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

So, in *The Fleire*, a comedy, 1610:—"their tongues are, like a *Jack o' the clock*, still in labour."

Again, in *The Coxcomb*, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

" — Is this your *Jack o' the clock-house* ?

" Will you *strike*, sir?"

Again, in a pamphlet by Deckar, called the *Guls Hornbook*, 1609: "—but howsoever, if Powles *Jacks* be once up with their elbowes, and quarrelling to strike eleven, as soon as ever the clock has parted them, and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the duke's gallery conteyne you any longer."

Perhaps these figures are called *Jacks*, because the engines of that name which turn the spit were anciently ornamented with such a puppet. In *The Gentleman Usher*, a comedy, by Chapman, 1606, they are alluding to a roasting *Jack*, and a man says:

" —as in that quaint engine you have seen

" *A little man in shreds stand at the winder,*

" And seem to put all things in act about him,

" Lifting and pulling with a mighty stir,

" Yet adds no force to it, nor nothing does."

In *Lantern and Candle-light*, or *The Bellman's Second Night-walk*, &c. by Deckar, is a passage "of a new and cunning drawing of money from gentlemen," which may tend to a somewhat different explanation of the word—*strike*: "There is another fraternitie of wandring pilgrims, who merrily call themselves *Jackes of the clock-house*. The *jackete of a clock-house* goes upon screws, and his office is to do nothing but *strike*: so does this noise (for they walke up and down like fiddlers) travaile with motions, and whatever their motions get them, is called *striking*."

STEEVENS.

A *Jack* with such a figure as Chapman hath described, was for many years exhibited, as a sign, at the door of a White-Smith's shop in the narrowest part of the Strand. HENLEY.

These automatons were called *Jacks of the clock-house*, because *Jack* in our author's time was a common appellation for a mean, contemptible fellow, employed by others in servile offices. See Vol. VI. p. 18, n. 8. MALONE.

BUCK. Why, then resolve me whe'r you will, or no.

K. RICH. Thou troublest me; I am not in the vein.

[*Exeunt King RICHARD and Train.*

BUCK. And is it thus? repays he my deep service
With such contempt? made I him king for this?
O, let me think on Hastings; and be gone
To Brecknock,⁴ while my fearful head is on.

[*Exit.*

SCENE III.

The same.

Enter TYRREL.

TYR. The tyrannous and bloody act is done;
The most arch deed of piteous massacre,
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton, and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children, in their death's sad story.
O thus, quoth Dighton, *lay the gentle babes,—*
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, *girdling one another*
Within their alabaster innocent arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kiss'd each other.

⁴ To Brecknock,] To the Castle of Brecknock in Wales, where the Duke of Buckingham's estate lay. MALONE.

*A book of prayers on their pillow lay ;⁵
 Which once, quoth Forrest, almost chang'd my mind ;
 But, O, the devil—there the villain stopp'd ;
 When Dighton thus told on,—we smothered
 The most replenished sweet work of nature,
 That, from the prime creation, e'er she fram'd.—
 Hence both are gone with conscience and remorse,
 They could not speak ; and so I left them both,
 To bear this tidings to the bloody king.*

Enter King RICHARD.

And here he comes :—All health, my sovereign lord !

K. RICH. Kind Tyrrel ! am I happy in thy news ?

TYR. If to have done the thing you gave in charge
 Beget your happiness, be happy then,
 For it is done.

K. RICH. But didst thou see them dead ?

TYR. I did, my lord.

K. RICH. And buried, gentle Tyrrel ?

⁵ *O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes,—*

Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one another

Within their alabaster innocent arms :—

A book of prayers on their pillow lay ;] These circumstances were probably adopted from the old song of *The most cruel Murther of Edward V.* &c. in *The Golden Garland of Princely Delight*. The thirteenth edition of this collection was published in 1690:

“ When these sweet children thus were laid in bed,

“ And to the Lord their hearty prayers had said,

“ Sweet slumbering sleep then closing up their eyes,

“ Each folded in the other’s arms then lies.”

It must be owned, however, that there is nothing to assist us in ascertaining the exact date of this and many other of our ancient ballads. STEEVENS.

TYR. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried them;

But where, to say the truth, I do not know.

K. RICH. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon, at after supper,

When thou shalt tell the process of their death.

Mean time, but think how I may do thee good,
And be inheritor of thy desire.

Farewell, till then.

TYR. I humbly take my leave. [*Exit.*]

K. RICH. The son of Clarence have I pen'd up close;⁶

His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;⁷
The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom,
And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night.
Now, for I know the Bretagne Richmond⁸ aims

⁶ *The son of Clarence have I pen'd up close;]* In Sheriff Hutton Castle, Yorkshire; where he remained till the coming of Henry VII. who immediately after the battle of Bosworth sent him to the Tower, and some few years after, most treacherously and barbarously put him to death; being, from a total want of education and commerce with mankind, so ignorant, that he could not, according to Hall, discern a goose from a capon. With this unfortunate young nobleman ended the male line of the illustrious house of Plantagenet. RITSON.

⁷ *His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;]* To Sir Richard Pole, Knt. This lady, at seventy years of age, without any legal process, and for no crime but her relation to the crown, was beheaded in the Tower by that sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII. Her son, Lord Montague, had been put to death a few years before, in the same manner, and for the same crime; and the famous Cardinal Pole, another of her children, only escaped the fate of his mother and brother, by keeping out of the butcher's reach. RITSON.

⁸ — *the Bretagne Richmond—]* He thus denominates Richmond, because after the battle of Tewksbury he had taken refuge in the court of Francis II. Duke of Bretagne, where by the procurement of King Edward IV. he was kept a long time in a kind of honourable custody. See note on sc. iv. MALONE.

At young Elizabeth, my brother's daughter,
And, by that knot, looks proudly on the crown,
To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer.

Enter CATESBY.

CATE. My lord,—

K. RICH. Good news or bad, that thou com'st
in so bluntly?

CATE. Bad news, my lord: Morton is fled to
Richmond;
And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy Welsh-
men,

Is in the field, and still his power encreaseth.

K. RICH. Ely with Richmond troubles me more
near,
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength.
Come,—I have learn'd, that fearful commenting
Is leaden servitor⁹ to dull delay;
Delay leads impotent and snail-pac'd beggary:
Then fiery expedition¹ be my wing,
Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king!
Go, muster men: My counsel is my shield;
We must be brief, when traitors brave the field.

[*Exeunt.*

⁹ ——fearful commenting

Is leaden servitor—] Timorous thought and cautious dis-
quisition are the dull attendants on delay. JOHNSON.

¹ ——fiery expedition—] So, in *Hamlet*:

“——must send thee hence

“With fiery quickness.” STEEVENS.

SCENE IV.

The same. Before the Palace.

Enter Queen MARGARET.

Q. MAR. So, now prosperity begins to mellow,²
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.
Here in these confines slily have I lurk'd,
To watch the waning of mine enemies.
A dire induction³ am I witness to,
And will to France ; hoping, the consequence
Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.
Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret ! who comes
here ?

Enter Queen ELIZABETH and the Duchess of YORK.

Q. ELIZ. Ah, my poor princes ! ah, my tender
babes !

My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets !
If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,
And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,
Hover about me with your airy wings,
And hear your mother's lamentation !

² ——begins to mellow, &c.] The same thought occurs in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602 :

“ ——now is his fate grown mellow,
“ Instant to fall into the rotten jaws
“ Of chap-fall'n death.” STEEVENS.

³ ——dire induction—] *Induction* is preface, introduction, first part. It is so used by Sackville in our author's time.

JOHNSON.

Q. MAR. Hover about her ; say, that right for right⁴

Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

DUCH. So many miseries have craz'd my voice,
That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute,—
Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead ?

Q. MAR. Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet,
Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

Q. ELIZ. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,
And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
When didst thou sleep,⁵ when such a deed was done?

⁴ ——say, that right for right—] This is one of those conceits which our author may be suspected of loving better than propriety. *Right for right* is *justice answering to the claims of justice*. So, in this play :

“ ——That forehead

“ Where should be branded, if that right were right—.”
JOHNSON.

In the third scene of the first Act, Margaret was reproached with the murder of young Rutland, and the death of her husband and son were imputed to the divine vengeance roused by that wicked act : “ So just is God to right the innocent.” Margaret now perhaps means to say, The right of me, an injured mother, whose son was slain at Tewksbury, has now operated as powerfully as that right which the death of Rutland gave you to divine justice, and has destroyed your children in their turn.

MALONE.

⁵ When didst thou sleep, &c.] That is, When, before the present occasion, didst thou ever sleep during the commission of such an action? Thus the only authentick copies now extant; the quarto, 1598, and the first folio. The editor of the second folio changed *When* to *Why*, which has been adopted by all the subsequent editors; though Margaret's answer evidently refers to the word found in the original copy. MALONE.

I have admitted this reading, though I am not quite certain of its authenticity. The reply of Margaret might have been designed as an interrogatory echo to the last words of the Queen.

STEEVENS.

Q. MAR. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.

DUCH. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal-living ghost,
Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,
Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth,
[*Sitting down.*
Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood !

Q. ELIZ. Ah, that thou would'st as soon afford a grave,
As thou canst yield a melancholy seat ;
Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here !
Ah, who hath any cause to mourn, but we ?

[*Sitting down by her.*

Q. MAR. If ancient sorrow be most reverent,
Give mine the benefit of seniory,⁶
And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.⁷

This appears to be the true reading, as Margaret's next speech is an answer to that question that was not addressed to her.

M. MASON.

⁶ — *seniory,*] For *seniority.* JOHNSON.

So in Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1615, p. 149 :

“ — the son of Edmund, the son of Edward the *seignior*, the son of Alured,” &c. STEEVENS.

The word in the quarto is *signorie*, in the folio *signeury*, and it has been printed *signiory* in the late editions : but as in general modern spelling has been adopted, I know not why the ancient mode should be adhered to in this particular instance. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Act I. sc. the last, *senior* has been properly printed by all the modern editors, though the words in the old copy are — “ We'll draw cuts for the *signior*. ” The substantive in the text is evidently formed by our author from hence.

MALONE.

⁷ *And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.]* So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece* :

If sorrow can admit society,

[*Sitting down with them.*

Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine :—

I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him ;

I had a husband,⁸ till a Richard kill'd him :

Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him ;

Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

DUCH. I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill
him ;

I had a Rutland too, thou holp'st to kill him.

Q. MAR. Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard
kill'd him.

From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-hound, that doth hunt us all to death :
That dog, that had his teeth before his eyes,
To worry lambs, and lap their gentle blood ;
That foul defacer of God's handy-work ;
That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
That reigns⁹ in galled eyes of weeping souls,
Thy womb let loose, to chase us to our graves.—
O upright, just, and true-disposing God,

“ By this starts Collatine as from a dream,
“ And bids Lucretius give his sorrows place.”

MALONE.

* *I had a husband,]* The quarto has—a *Richard*, which the editor of the folio corrected by substituting—a *husband*. I believe Shakspeare wrote—I had a *Henry*. In a subsequent speech in this scene, p. 472, l. 2: “*my brother*” being printed in the quarto by mistake, instead of “*thy brother*,” the editor of the folio corrected the wrong word, and printed—*my husband*.

MALONE.

* *That reigns &c.]* This and the preceding line have been omitted by all the modern editors, Rowe excepted. STEEVENS.

These two lines are found only in the folio, and are there transposed. They were rightly arranged by Mr. Steevens.

MALONE.

How do I thank thee, that this carnal¹ cur
 Preys on the issue of his mother's body,
 And makes her pew-fellow² with others' moan!

DUCH. O, Harry's wife, triumph not in my
 woes ;
 God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

Q. MAR. Bear with me ; I am hungry for re-
 venge,
 And now I cloy me with beholding it.
 Thy Edward he is dead, that kill'd my Edward ;
 Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward ;
 Young York he is but boot,³ because both they
 Match not the high perfection of my loss.

¹ —— *carnal* —] This word, in the present instance, may signify *carnivorous*, though in *Hamlet* it is used for *slaughterous* :
 “ Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts.” STEEVENS.

² *And makes her pew-fellow* —] *Pew-fellow* seems to be companion. We have now a new phrase, nearly equivalent, by which we say of persons in the same difficulties, that they are in *the same box*. JOHNSON.

Pew-fellow is a word yet in use. SIR J. HAWKINS.

I find this compound word in *Northward Hoe*, a comedy, by Decker and Webster, 1607 : “ He would make him *pue-fellow* with a lord's steward at least.”

Again, in *Westward-Hoe*, by the same authors, 1606 :

“ —— being both my scholars, and your honest *pue-fellows*.”

I remember to have seen in ancient Flemish prints representing Schools, certain inclosures holding different classes of boys, who, probably, from this circumstance, were styled *pew-fellows*.

In our places of worship perhaps *pews* in general are modern conveniences, compared with the age of the buildings that contain them. Our hardy ancestors chiefly sat on open benches, such are still remaining in the Pit at Great Saint Mary's, Cambridge. STEEVENS.

³ *Young York he is but boot*,] *Boot* is that which is thrown in to mend a purchase. JOHNSON.

Thy Clarence he is dead, that stabb'd my Edward;
 And the beholders of this tragick play,
 The adulterate Hastings,⁴ Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,
 Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves.
 Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer ;
 Only reserv'd their factor, to buy souls,
 And send them thither : But at hand, at hand,
 Ensues his piteous and unpitied end :
 Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,⁵
 To have him suddenly convey'd from hence :—
 Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
 That I may live to say, The dog is dead !

Q. ELIZ. O, thou didst prophecy, the time would
 come,

That I should wish for thee to help me curse
 That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad.

Q. MAR. I call'd thee then, vain flourish of my
 fortune ;

I call'd thee then, poor shadow, painted queen ;
 The presentation of but what I was,

⁴ The adulterate *Hastings*,] I believe Shakspeare wrote :
The adulterer Hastings,—. WARBURTON.

Adulterate is right. We say *metals* are *adulterate*; and *adulterate* sometimes means the same as *adulterer*. In either sense, on this occasion, the epithet will suit. *Hastings* was *adulterate*, as Margaret has tried his friendship and found it faithless; he was an *adulterer*, as he cohabited with *Jane Shore* during the life of her husband. So, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, speaking of the King, says :

“ — that incestuous, that *adulterate* beast.”

STEEVENS.

⁵ *Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray*,] This imperfect line is not injudiciously completed by some former editor :

Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar for him ; saints pray,
To have &c. STEEVENS.

The flattering index of a direful pageant,⁶
 One heav'd a high, to be hurl'd down below :
 A mother only mock'd with two fair babes ;
 A dream of what thou wast ; a garish flag,
 To be the aim of every dangerous shot ;⁷
 A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble ;
 A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.

Where is thy husband now? where be thy brothers ?
 Where be thy two sons ? wherein dost thou joy ?
 Who sues, and kneels, and says—God save the
 queen ?

Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee ?⁸
 Where be the thronging troops that follow'd thee ?
 Decline all this,⁹ and see what now thou art.
 For happy wife, a most distressed widow ;
 For joyful mother, one that wails the name ;
 For one being sued to, one that humbly sues ;

⁶ *The flattering index of a direful pageant,]* Pageants are dumb shows, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on publick occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited. The index of every book was anciently placed before the beginning of it. STEEVENS.

⁷ —— *a garish flag,*
To be the aim of every dangerous shot,] Alluding to the dangerous situation of those persons to whose care the standards of armies were entrusted. STEEVENS.

⁸ *Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee ?]* Mr. Rowe has transferred this question to Alicia in *Jane Shore*:

“ —— where is the king ——

“ And all the smiling cringing train of courtiers,
 “ That bent the knee before thee ?” STEEVENS.

⁹ *Decline all this,]* i. e. run through all this from first to last. So, in *Troilus and Cressida*: “ I'll decline the whole question.” This phrase the poet borrowed from his grammar. MALONE.

For queen, a very caitiff crown'd with care :
 For one that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me ;
 For one being fear'd of all, now fearing one ;
 For one commanding all, obey'd of none.
 Thus hath the course of justice wheel'd about,¹
 And left thee but a very prey to time ;
 Having no more but thought of what thou wert,
 To torture thee the more, being what thou art.
 Thou didst usurp my place, And dost thou not
 Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow ?
 Now thy proud neck bears half my burden'd yoke ;
 From which even here I slip my wearied head,
 And leave the burden of it all on thee.
 Farewell, York's wife,—and queen of sad mis-
 chance,—

These English woes shall make me smile in France.

Q. ELIZ. O thou well skill'd in curses, stay a while,
 And teach me how to curse mine enemies.

Q. MAR. Forbear to sleep the night, and fast²
 the day ;
 Compare dead happiness with living woe ;
 Think that thy babes were fairer³ than they were,
 And he, that slew them, fouler than he is :
 Bettering thy loss makes the bad-causer worse ;⁴
 Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

¹ ——wheel'd about,] Thus the quartos. The folio—whirl'd about. STEEVENS.

² Forbear to sleep—and fast—] Fast has no connection with the preceding word *forbear*; the meaning being,—Sleep not at night, and fast during the day. The quarto reads—to sleep the nights, and fast the days. MALONE.

³ ——were fairer—] So the quarto. The folio reads—sweeter. MALONE.

⁴ Bettering thy loss makes the bad-causer worse;) We must either read this line thus :

Q. ELIZ. My words are dull, O, quicken them with thine!

Q. MAR. Thy woes will make them sharp, and pierce like mine.

[*Exit Q. MARGARET.*

DUCH. Why should calamity be full of words?

Q. ELIZ. Windy attorneys to their client woes,⁵
Airy successors of intestate joys,⁶
Poor breathing orators of miseries!

Let them have scope: though what they do impart
Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart.⁷

Bettering thy loss, make the bad-causer worse;
which I believe to be the true reading, or include it in a parenthesis. M. MASON.

⁵ *Duch. Why should calamity be full of words?*

Q. Eliz. Windy attorneys to their client woes,] So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis*:

" So of concealed sorrow may be said:

" Free vent of words love's fire doth assuage;

" But when the heart's attorney once is mute,

" The client breaks as desperate of his suit."

The quarto reads—*your client woes*. The folio—*their clients woes*. MALONE.

⁶ *Airy successors of intestate joys,*] As I cannot understand the reading of the folio—*intestine*, I have adopted another from the quarto in 1597:

Airy successors of intestate joys:

i. e. words, tun'd to complaints, succeed joys that are dead; and unbequeathed to them, to whom they should properly descend.

THEOBALD.

The metaphor is extremely harsh. The joys already possessed being all consumed and passed away, are supposed to have died intestate, that is, to have made no will, having nothing to bequeath; and more verbal complaints are their successors, but inherit nothing but misery. MALONE.

⁷ — though what they do impart

Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart.] So, in Macbeth:

DUCH. If so, then be not tongue-ty'd: go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damned son, that thy two sweet sons smother'd.
[*Drum, within,*
I hear his drum,—be copious in exclaims.

Enter King RICHARD, and his Train, marching.

K. RICH. Who intercepts me in my expedition?

DUCH. O, she, that might have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done,

Q. ELIZ. Hid'st thou that forehead with a golden
crown,

Where should be branded, if that right were right,
The slaughter of the prince that ow'd that crown,⁸
And the dire death of my poor sons, and brothers?
Tell me, thou villain-slave, where are my children?

DUCH. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy bro-
ther Clarence?

And little Ned Plantagenet, his son?

Q. ELIZ. Where is the gentle Rivers, Vaughan,
Grey?

DUCH. Where is kind Hastings?

K. RICH. A flourish, trumpets!—strike alarum,
drums!

“ Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak,
“ Whispers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break.”

The quarto reads—Help not at all,—. MALONE.

⁸ — that ow'd that crown,] i. e. that possessed it. So, in
King John:

“ Which owe the crown that thou o'ermasterest.”

STEEVENS,

Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women
Rail on the Lord's anointed : Strike, I say.—

[*Flourish. Alarums.*

Either be patient, and entreat me fair,
Or with the clamorous report of war
Thus will I drown your exclamations.

DUCH. Art thou my son ?

K. RICH. Ay ; I thank God, my father, and your-self.

DUCH. Then patiently hear my impatience.

K. RICH. Madam, I have a touch of your condition,⁹

That cannot brook the accent of reproof.

DUCH. O, let me speak.

K. RICH. Do, then ; but I'll not hear.

DUCH. I will be mild and gentle in my words.

K. RICH. And brief, good mother ; for I am in haste.

DUCH. Art thou so hasty ? I have staid for thee,
God knows, in torment and in agony.

K. RICH. And came I not at last to comfort you ?

DUCH. No, by the holy rood, thou know'st it well,

'Thou cam'st on earth to make the earth my hell.
A grievous burden was thy birth to me ;

⁹ —— *a touch of your condition,*] A *spice or particle of your temper or disposition.* JOHNSON.

So, in Chapman's translation of the 24th *Iliad* :

“ —— his cold blood embrac'd a fiery touch
“ Of anger,” &c.

Again, in the thirteenth *Iliad* :

“ —— if any touch appear
“ Of glory in thee :—” STEEVENS.

Tetchy¹ and wayward was thy infancy;
 Thy school-days, frightful, desperate, wild, and
 furious;
 Thy prime of manhood, daring, bold, and ventu-
 rous;
 Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody,
 More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred:
 What comfortable hour canst thou name,
 That ever grac'd me² in thy company?

K. RICH. 'Faith, none, but Humphrey Hour,³
 that call'd your grace

¹ *Tetchy*—] Is touchy, peevish, fretful, ill-temper'd.

RITSON.

So, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ To see it *tetchy*, and fall out with the dug—.”

STEEVENS.

² *That ever grac'd me*—] To *grace* seems here to mean the same as to *bless*, to make happy. So, *gracious* is kind, and *graces* are favours. JOHNSON.

We find the same expression in *Macbeth*:

“ Please it your highness

“ To *grace* us with your royal company.” STEEVENS.

³ ——*Humphrey Hour*,] This may probably be an allusion to some affair of gallantry of which the Duchess had been suspected. I cannot find the name in Holinshed. Surely the poet's fondness for a quibble has not induced him at once to personify and christen that *hour* of the day which summon'd his mother to breakfast.

So, in *The Wit of a Woman*, 1604: “ Gentlemen, time makes us brief: our old mistress, *Houre*, is at hand.”

Shakspeare might indeed by this strange phrase (*Humphrey Hour*) have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of *Duke Humphrey*.

The common cant phrase of *dining with Duke Humphrey*, I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained. It appears, however, from a satirical pamphlet called *The Gules Horn-booke*, 1609, written by T. Deckar, that in the ancient church of St. Paul, one of the aisles was called *Duke Humphrey's Walk*; in which those who had no means of procuring a dinner, affected to loiter. Deckar concludes his fourth chapter thus: “ By this, I imagine you have walked your bellyful, and thereupon being weary, or

To breakfast once, forth of my company.
If I be so disgracious in your sight,

(which is rather, I beleeve,) being most gentleman-like hungry, it is fit that as I brought you unto the *duke*, so (because he fol-
lowes the fashion of great men in *keeping no house*, and that
therefore you must *go seeke your dinner*,) suffer me to take you
by the hand and leade you into an ordinary." The title of
this chapter is, "How a gallant should behave himself in *Powles
Walkes*."

Hall, in the 7th *Satire*, B. III. seems to confirm this inter-
pretation:

" 'Tis Ruffio: Trow'st thou where he din'd to-day?
" In sooth I saw him sit with *duke Humfray*:
" Manie good welcoms, and much gratis cheere,
" Keeps he for everie stragling cavaliere;
" An open house haunted with greate resort,
" Long service mixt with *musicall disport*," &c.

Hall's *Satires*, edit. 1602, p. 60.

See likewise *Foure Letters* and certain *Sonnets*, by Gabriel Harvey, 1592:

" —to seeke his dinner in Poules with *duke Humphrey*: to
licke dishes, to be a beggar."

Again, in *The Return of the Knight of the Post*, &c. by Nash, 1606: " —in the end comming into Poules, to behold the old
duke and his guests," &c.

Again, in *A wonderful, strange and miraculous Prognostication, for this Year*, &c. 1591, by Nash: " —sundry fellowes in
their silkes shall be appointed to keepe *duke Humfrye* company
in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners
abroad."

If it be objected that *duke Humphrey* was buried at St. Albans, let it likewise be remembered that cenotaphs were not uncommon. STEEVENS.

It appears from Stowe's *Survey*, 1598, that *Sir John Bew-
campe*, son to Guy, and brother to Thomas, Earls of Warwick,
who died in 1358, had "a faire monument" on the south side of
the body of St. Paul's Church. " He," says Stowe, " is by ig-
norant people misnamed to be *Humphrey Duke of Gloster*, who
lyeth honourably buried at Saint Albans, twentie miles from
London: And therefore such as merily professe themselues to
serue Duke Humphrey in Powles, are to bee punished here, and
sent to Saint Albons, there to be punished againe, for theyr ab-
sence from theyr maister, as they call him." RITSON.

Humphrey Hour,] I believe nothing more than a quibble was

Let me march on, and not offend you, madam.—
Strike up the drum.

DUCH. I pr'ythee, hear me speak.

K. RICH. You speak too bitterly.

DUCH. Hear me a word ;
For I shall never speak to thee again.

K. RICH. So.

DUCH. Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance,

Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror ;
Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish,
And never look upon thy face again.
Therefore, take with thee my most heavy curse ;
Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more,
Than all the cōplete armour that thou wear'st !
My prayers on the adverse party fight ;
And there the little souls of Edward's children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And promise them success and victory.
Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end ;
Shame serves thy life,⁴ and doth thy death attend.

[Exit.]

Q. ELIZ. Though far more cause, yet much less
spirit to curse
Abides in me ; I say amen to her. [Going.]

K. RICH. Stay, madam,⁵ I must speak a word
with you.

meant. In our poet's twentieth Sonnet we find a similar conceit ; a quibble between *hues* (colours) and *Hughes*, (formerly spelt *Hewes*) the person addressed. MALONE.

⁴ *Shame serves thy life,]* To *serve* is to *accompany*, servants being near the persons of their masters. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Stay, madam,]* On this dialogue 'tis not necessary to bestow much criticism, part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable. JOHNSON.

Q. ELIZ. I have no more sons of the royal blood,
For thee to murder: for my daughters, Richard,—
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens;
And therefore level not to hit their lives.

K. RICH. You have a daughter call'd—Elizabeth,
Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

Q. ELIZ. And must she die for this? O, let her
live,

And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty;
Slander myself, as false to Edward's bed;
Throw over her the veil of infamy:
So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.

K. RICH. Wrong not her birth, she is of royal
blood.⁶

Q. ELIZ. To save her life, I'll say—she is not so.

K. RICH. Her life is safest only in her birth.

Q. ELIZ. And only in that safety died her bro-
thers.

K. RICH. Lo, at their births⁷ good stars were
opposite.

Q. ELIZ. No, to their lives bad friends were
contrary.

I cannot agree with Dr. Johnson's opinion. I see nothing ridiculous in any part of this dialogue; and with respect to probability, it was not unnatural that Richard, who by his art and wheedling tongue, had prevailed on Lady Anne to marry him in her heart's extremest grief, should hope to persuade an ambitious, and, as he thought her, a wicked woman, to consent to his marriage with her daughter, which would make her a queen, and aggrandize her family. M. MASON.

⁶ —she is of royal blood.] The folio reads—she is a royal princess. STEEVENS.

⁷ Lo, at their births—] Perhaps we should read—No, at
their births—. TYRWHITT.

K. Rich. All unavoid'd⁸ is the doom of destiny.

Q. Eliz. True, when avoided grace makes destiny :

My babes were destin'd to a fairer death,
If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.

K. Rich. You speak, as if that I had slain my cousins.

Q. Eliz. Cousins, indeed ; and by their uncle cozen'd

Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.
Whose hands soever lanc'd their tender hearts,
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction :⁹
No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt,
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,¹
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.
But that still use² of grief makes wild grief tame,
My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys,
Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes ;
And I, in such a desperate bay of death,

⁸ *All unavoid'd &c.*] i. e. unavoidable. So, before :
“ Whose *unavoided* eye is dangerous.” MALONE.

⁹ *Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction :]* This is a jingle in which Shakspeare perhaps found more delight than his readers. So, in *Hamlet* :

“ By *indirections* find *directions* out.”

The same opposition of words occurs also in *King John*.

STEEVENS.

¹ *Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,]* This conceit seems also to have been a great favourite of our author. We meet with it more than once. So, in *King Henry IV. P. II.*:

“ Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts,
“ Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart,
“ To stab,” &c.

Again, in *The Merchant of Venice* :

“ Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
“ Thou mak'st thy knife keen——.” STEEVENS.

² —— still use —] i. e. constant use. So, in *K. Richard II.*:
“ A generation of still breeding thoughts.” STEEVENS.

Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

K. RICH. Madam, so thrive I in my enterprize,
And dangerous success of bloody wars,
As I intend more good to you and yours,
Than ever you or yours by me were harm'd!

Q. ELIZ. What good is cover'd with the face of
heaven,
To be discover'd, that can do me good?

K. RICH. The advancement of your children,
gentle lady.

Q. ELIZ. Up to some scaffold, there to lose their
heads?

K. RICH. No, to the dignity and height of for-
tune,
The high imperial type³ of this earth's glory.

Q. ELIZ. Flatter my sorrows with report of it;
Tell me, what state, what dignity, what honour,
Canst thou demise⁴ to any child of mine?

³ *The high imperial type—*] *Type* is exhibition, show, dis-
play. JOHNSON.

I think it means *emblem*, one of its usual significations.—By
the imperial *type* of glory, Richard means a *crown*. M. MASON.

The canopy placed over a pulpit is still called by architects a
type. It is, I apprehend, in a similar sense that the word is here
used. HENLEY.

Bullokar, in his *Expositor*, 1616, defines *Type*—“A figure,
form, or likeness of any thing.” Cawdrey, in his *Alphabetical
Table*, &c. 1604, calls it—“figure, example, or shadowe of any
thing.” The word is used in *King Henry VI. P. III.* as here:

“Thy father bears the *type* of king of Naples.”

MALONE.

⁴ *Canst thou demise—*] *To demise* is to grant, from *demittere*,
to devolve a right from one to another. STEEVENS.

The constant language of leases is, “—*demised*, granted,
and to farm let.” But I believe the word is used by no poet but

K. RICH. Even all I have; ay, and myself and all,
Will I withal endow a child of thine;
So in the Lethe of thy angry soul
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,⁵
Which, thou supposest, I have done to thee.

Q. ELIZ. Be brief, lest that the process of thy
kindness
Last longer telling than thy kindness' date.

K. RICH. Then know, that from my soul, I love
thy daughter.

Q. ELIZ. My daughter's mother thinks it with
her soul.

K. RICH. What do you think?

Q. ELIZ. That thou dost love my daughter, from
thy soul:
So, from thy soul's love, didst thou love her bro-
thers;
And, from my heart's love, I do thank thee for it.

K. RICH. Be not so hasty to confound my mean-
ing:
I mean, that with my soul I love thy daughter,
And do intend to make her queen of England.

Q. ELIZ. Well then, who dost thou mean shall
be her king?

K. RICH. Even he, that makes her queen: Who
else should be?

Shakspeare. For *demise*, the reading of the quarto, and first
folio, the editor of the second folio arbitrarily substituted *devise*.

MALONE.

⁵ So in the Lethe of thy angry soul
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,] So, in
King Henry IV. P. II:

“ May this be wash'd in Lethe and forgotten?”

STEEVENS.

Q. ELIZ. What, thou?

K. RICH. Even so: What think you of it, madam?⁶

Q. ELIZ. How canst thou woo her?

K. RICH. That I would learn of you, As one being best acquainted with her humour.

Q. ELIZ. And wilt thou learn of me?

K. RICH. Madam, with all my heart.⁷

Q. ELIZ. Send to her, by the man that slew her brothers,

A pair of bleeding hearts; thereon engrave, Edward, and York; then, haply, will she weep: Therefore present to her,—as sometime Margaret⁸ Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood,— A handkerchief; which, say to her, did drain The purple sap from her sweet brother's body, And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal. If this inducement move her not to love, Send her a letter of thy noble deeds; Tell her, thou mad'st away her uncle Clarence, Her uncle Rivers; ay, and, for her sake, Mad'st quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

K. RICH. You mock me, madam; this is not the way To win your daughter.

⁶ Even so: *What think you of it, madam?*] Thus the folio, except that it reads—*how* instead of *what*. The quarto, without attention to the broken verse preceding:

I, even I: *what think you of it, madam?*

“I am not (says Mr. Malone,) sure whether it should not be printed, *Ay, even I.*” STEEVENS.

⁷ Madam, *with all my heart.*] I suppose the word—*Madam*, may be safely omitted, as it violates the measure. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *as sometime Margaret —*] Here is another reference to the plays of *Henry VI.* JOHNSON.

Q. ELIZ. There is no other way;
 Unless thou could'st put on some other shape,
 And not be Richard that hath done all this.

K. RICH. Say, that I did⁹ all this for love of her?

Q. ELIZ. Nay, then indeed, she cannot choose
 but have thee,¹

Having bought love with such a bloody spoil.²

K. RICH. Look, what is done cannot be now
 amended:

Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,
 Which after-hours give leisure to repent.
 If I did take the kingdom from your sons,
 To make amends, I'll give it to your daughter.
 If I have kill'd the issue of your womb,
 To quicken your increase, I will beget
 Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter.
 A grandam's name is little less in love,
 Than is the doting title of a mother;
 They are as children, but one step below,

⁹ *Say, that I did &c.]* This and the following fifty-four lines, ending with the words *tender years*, in p. 469, are found only in the folio. MALONE.

¹ *Nay, then indeed, she cannot choose but have thee,]* [Old copy—*hate.*] The sense seems to require that we should read:
 _____ but love thee,
 ironically. TYRWHITT.

As this is evidently spoken ironically, I agree with Tyrwhitt, that the present reading is corrupt, but should rather amend it by reading “have you,” than “love you;” as the word *have* is more likely to have been mistaken for *hate*, the traces of the letters being nearly the same. M. MASON.

As this conjecture is, in my opinion, at once fortunate and judicious, I have placed it in the text. A somewhat corresponding error had happened in *Coriolanus*, last speech of scene iv. Act IV. where *have* was apparently given instead of—*hate.*

STEEVENS.

² —— *bloody spoil.]* *Spoil* is waste, havock. JOHNSON.

Even of your mettle, of your very blood ;³
 Of all one pain,—save for a night of groans
 Endur'd of her,⁴ for whom you bid like sorrow.⁵
 Your children were vexation to your youth,
 But mine shall be a comfort to your age.
 The loss, you have, is but—a son being king,
 And, by that loss, your daughter is made queen.
 I cannot make you what amends I would,
 Therefore accept such kindness as I can.
 Dorset, your son, that, with a fearful soul,
 Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,
 This fair alliance quickly shall call home
 To high promotions and great dignity :
 The king, that calls your beauteous daughter,—
 wife,
 Familiarly shall call thy Dorset—brother ;
 Again shall you be mother to a king,
 And all the ruins of distressful times

³ Even of your mettle, of your very blood ;] The folio has—
mettal. The two words are frequently confounded in the old copies. That *mettle* was the word intended here, appears from various other passages. So, in *Macbeth* :

“ — Thy undaunted *mettle* should compose
 “ Nothing but males.”

Again, in *King Richard II* :

“ — that bed, that womb,
 “ That *mettle*, that self-mould that fashion'd thee,
 “ Made him a man.”

Again, in *Timon of Athens* :

“ — Common mother, thou,
 “ Whose womb unmeasurable, and infinite breast,
 “ Teems and feeds all, whose self-same *mettle*
 “ Whereof thy proud child, arrogant man, is puff'd,
 “ Engenders the black toad,” &c. MALONE.

⁴ Endur'd of her,] Of in the language of Shakspeare's age was frequently used for *by*. MALONE.

⁵ — bid like sorrow.] *Bid* is in the past tense from *bide*. JOHNSON.

Repair'd with double riches of content.
 What ! we have many goodly days to see :
 The liquid drops of tears that you have shed,
 Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl ;
 Advantaging their loan, with interest
 Of ten-times-double gain of happiness.⁶
 Go then, my mother, to thy daughter go ;
 Make bold her bashful years with your experience ;
 Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale ;
 Put in her tender heart the aspiring flame
 Of golden sov'reignty ; acquaint the princess
 With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys :
 And when this arm of mine hath châstised
 The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
 Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
 And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed ;
 To whom I will retail my conquest won,⁷
 And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.

Q. ELIZ. What were I best to say ? her father's
 brother
 Would be her lord ? Or shall I say, her uncle ?

⁶ *Advantaging their loan, with interest
 Of ten-times-double gain of happiness.]* [The folio—*love.*] My easy emendation will convince every reader that *love* and *lone* are made out of one another only by a letter turned upside down. *The tears that you have lent to your afflictions, shall be turned into gems; and requite you by way of interest, &c.*

THEOBALD.

How often the letters u and n are confounded in these copies, has been shown in various places. See Vol. V. p. 191, n. 3; and note on *Timon of Athens*, Act IV. sc. iii. Vol. XIX.

MALONE

⁷ *To whom I will retail my conquest won,*] To *retail* (as Mr. M. Mason has observed in a note on Act III. sc. i. p. 370, n. 8,) is to hand down from one to another. Richard, in the present instance, means to say he will *transmit* the benefit of his victories to Elizabeth. STEEVENS.

Or, he that slew her brothers, and her uncles?
 Under what title shall I woo for thee,
 That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
 Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

K. RICH. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

Q. ELIZ. Which she shall purchase with still lasting war.

K. RICH. Tell her, the king, that may command, entreats.

Q. ELIZ. That at her hands, which the king's King forbids.⁸

K. RICH. Say, she shall be a high and mighty queen.

Q. ELIZ. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

K. RICH. Say, I will love her everlastingly.

Q. ELIZ. But how long shall that title, ever, last?⁹

K. RICH. Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.

Q. ELIZ. But how long fairly shall her sweet life last?

K. RICH. As long as heaven, and nature, lengthens it.

Q. ELIZ. As long as hell, and Richard, likes of it.

K. RICH. Say, I, her sov'reign, am her subject low.¹

⁸ —— which the king's King forbids.] Alluding to the prohibition in the Levitical law. See *Leviticus*, xviii. 14. GREY.

⁹ But how long shall that title, ever, last?] Young has borrowed this thought in his *Universal Passion*:

“ But say, my all, my mistress, and my friend,

“ What day next week th' eternity shall end?”

STEEVENS.

’ —— am her subject low.] Thus the folio. The quarto reads:
 ————— her subject love. STEEVENS.

Q. ELIZ. But she, your subject, loaths such sov'-reignty.

K. RICH. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

Q. ELIZ. An honest tale speeds best, being plainly told.

K. RICH. Then, in plain terms tell her my loving tale.²

Q. ELIZ. Plain, and nothonest, is too harsh a style.

K. RICH. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.

Q. ELIZ. O, no, my reasons are too deep and dead ;—

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

K. RICH. Harp not³ on that string, madam ; that is past.

² *Then, in plain terms tell her my loving tale.]* So the quarto. The folio reads :

“ Then plainly to her tell my loving tale.” MALONE.

³ *Harp not &c.]* In the regulation of these short speeches I have followed the quarto 1597. STEEVENS.

K. Rich. Harp not on that string, madam ; that is past.

Q. Eliz. Harp on it still shall I, &c.] In the quarto, 1598, the first of these two lines is wanting. The passage stands thus:

“ Qu. O, no, my reasons, &c.

“ Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

“ King. Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

“ Now by my george,” &c.

The printer of the next quarto saw that the line—“ Harp on it still shall I,” &c. could not belong to Richard, and therefore annexed it to the Queen’s former speech, but did not insert the omitted line.

The editor of the folio supplied the line that was wanting, but absurdly misplaced it, and exhibited the passage thus :

“ Qu. O, no, my reasons are too deep and dead ;

“ Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

“ Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

“ King. Harp not on that string, madam, that is past.

“ Now by my george,” &c.

The text is formed from the quarto, and the folio. MALONE.

Q. ELIZ. Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

K. RICH. Now, by my George, my garter, and my crown,—

Q. ELIZ. Profan'd, dishonour'd, and the third usurp'd.

K. RICH. I swear.

Q. ELIZ. By nothing; for this is no oath. Thy George, profan'd, hath lost his holy honour; Thy garter,⁴ blemish'd, pawn'd his knightly virtue; Thy crown, usurp'd, disgrac'd his kingly glory: If something thou would'st swear to be believ'd, Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

K. RICH. Now by the world,—

Q. ELIZ. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

K. RICH. My father's death,—

Q. ELIZ. Thy life hath that dishonour'd.

K. RICH. Then, by myself,—

Q. ELIZ. Thyself is self-mis-us'd.

K. RICH. Why then, by God,—

Q. ELIZ. God's wrong is most of all. If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him,⁵ The unity, the king thy brother made,

⁴ *Thy George, profan'd, hath lost his holy honour;*

Thy garter, &c.] The quarto reads—*The George, &c.* The folio—*Thy George; &c.* and, afterwards,—*lordly* instead of—*holy.* STEEVENS.

⁵ *God's wrong is most of all.*

If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him, &c.] I have followed the quarto, except that it reads in the preceding speech, Why then, by *God*—. The editors of the folio, from the apprehension of the penalty of the Statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. printed “Why then by *heaven*,”—and the whole they absurdly exhibited thus:

Had not been broken, nor my brother slain.⁶
 If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him,
 The imperial metal, circling now thy head,
 Had grac'd the tender temples of my child ;
 And both the princes had been breathing here,
 Which now, two tender bed-fellows for dust,⁷
 Thy broken faith hath made a prey for worms.⁸
 What canst thou swear by now ?

K. Rich. By the time to come.⁹

Q. Eliz. That thou hast wronged in the time
 o'er-past ;

For I myself have many tears to wash
 Hereafter time, for time past, wrong'd by thee.
 The children live, whose parents thou hast
 slaughter'd,

“ *Rich.* Why then, by heaven.

“ *Qu.* Heaven's wrong is most of all.

“ If thou didst fear to break an oath with him,

“ The unity,” &c.

“ If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by him,

“ The imperial metal,” &c.

By their alteration in the first line of the Queen's speech, they
 made all that follows ungrammatical. The change in the prece-
 ding speech, not having that consequence, I have adopted it.

MALONE.

⁶ — *the king thy brother made,*

Had not been *broken, nor my brother slain.*] The quarto,
 by an error of the press, has—*my brother*, which the editor of
 the folio corrected thus :

The unity the king, my husband, made,

Thou hadst not broken, nor my brothers died. MALONE.

⁷ *Which now, two tender bed-fellows &c.*] Mr. Roderick
 observes, that the word *two* is without any force, and would read :
Which now too tender &c. STEEVENS.

Thus the folio. The quarto—*two tender play-fellows.*

MALONE.

⁸ — *a prey for worms.*] So the quarto. Folio—*the prey.*

MALONE.

⁹ *By the time to come.*] So the quarto. *By* is not in the
 folio. MALONE.

Ungovern'd youth, to wail it in their age :¹
 The parents live, whose children thou hast butcher'd,
 Old barren plants, to wail it with their age.
 Swear not by time to come ; for that thou hast
 Misus'd ere used, by times ill-us'd o'er-past.

K. Rich. As I intend to prosper, and repent !
 So thrive I in my dangerous attempt²
 Of hostile arms ! myself myself confound !
 Heaven, and fortune, bar me happy hours !³-
 Day, yield me not thy light ; nor, night, thy rest !
 Be opposite all planets of good luck
 To my proceeding, if, with pure heart's love,
 Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
 I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter !
 In her consists my happiness, and thine ;
 Without her, follows to myself, and thee,
 Herself, the land, and many a christian soul,
 Death, desolation, ruin, and decay :
 It cannot be avoided, but by this ;
 It will not be avoided, but by this.
 Therefore, dear mother, (I must call you so,)
 Be the attorney of my love to her.
 Plead what I will be, not what I have been ;
 Not my deserts, but what I will deserve :
 Urge the necessity and state of times,
 And be not peevish⁴ found in great designs.

¹ —— *to wail it in their age :*] So the quarto, 1598. The quarto, 1602, &c. and the folio, read — *with their age.*

MALONE.

² —— *in my dangerous attempt —*] So the quarto. Folio — *dangerous affairs.* MALONE.

³ *Heaven, and fortune, bar me happy hours !*] This line is found only in the folio. MALONE.

⁴ *And be not peevish found —*] Thus the folio — *Peevish* in our

Q. ELIZ. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?

K. RICH. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

Q. ELIZ. Shall I forget myself, to be myself?

K. RICH. Ay, if your self's remembrance wrong yourself.

Q. ELIZ. But thou didst kill my children.

K. RICH. But in your daughter's womb I bury them:

Where, in that nest of spicery, they shall breed⁵
Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.

Q. ELIZ. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?

K. RICH. And be a happy mother by the deed.

Q. ELIZ. I go.—Write to me very shortly,⁶
And you shall understand from me her mind.

K. RICH. Bear her my true love's kiss, and so farewell.

[*Kissing her.* *Exit Q. ELIZABETH.*

author's time signified *foolish*. So, in the second scene of this Act:

“ When Richmond was a little *peevish boy*,—.”

See also Minsheu's DICT. in v. The quarto reads—*peevish fond*, and I am not sure that it is not right. A compound epithet might have been intended, *peevish-fond*. So *childish-foolish*, *senseless-obstinate*, *foolish-witty*, &c. MALONE.

I believe the present reading is the true one. So, in *King Henry VIII*:

“ — have great care

“ I be not found a talker.” STEEVENS.

⁵ — in that nest of spicery, they shall breed—] Alluding to the phoenix. STEEVENS.

So the quarto. The folio reads—they *will* breed.

MALONE.

⁶ — shortly,] This adverb, in the present instance, is employed as a trisyllable. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note, Vol. IV. p. 202. STEEVENS.

Relenting fool, and shallow, changing—woman!⁷
How now? what news?

Enter RATCLIFF; CATESBY following.

RAT. Most mighty sovereign, on the western coast
Rideth a puissant navy; to the shore
Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,
Unarm'd, and unresolv'd to beat them back:
'Tis thought, that Richmond is their admiral;
And there they hull, expecting but the aid
Of Buckingham, to welcome them ashore.

K. RICH. Some light-foot friend post to the
duke⁸ of Norfolk:—
Ratcliff, thyself,—or Catesby; where is he?

CATE. Here, my good lord.

K. RICH. Catesby, fly to the duke.

CATE. I will, my lord, with all convenient haste.

K. RICH. Ratcliff, come hither:⁹ Post to Salis-
bury;
When thou com'st thither,—Dull unmindful vil-
lain, [To CATESBY.
Why stay'st thou here, and go'st not to the duke?

⁷ Relenting fool, and shallow, changing—woman!] Such was the real character of this Queen dowager, who would have married her daughter to King Richard, and did all in her power to alienate the Marquis of Dorset, her son, from the Earl of Richmond. STEEVENS.

⁸ Some light-foot friend post to the duke—] Richard's precipitancy and confusion is in this scene very happily represented by inconsistent orders, and sudden variations of opinion.

JOHNSON.

⁹ Ratcliff, come hither:] The folio has—Catesby, come hither. The words are not in the quarto. It is obvious that they are addressed to Ratcliff. The correction was made by Mr. Rowe.

MALONE.

CATE. First, mighty liege, tell me your highness' pleasure,

What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

K. RICH. O, true, good Catesby;—Bid him levy straight

The greatest strength and power he can make,
And meet me suddenly at Salisbury.

CATE. I go. [Exit.

RAT. What, may it please you, shall I do at Sa-

lisbury?

K. RICH. Why, what would'st thou do there, be-

fore I go?

RAT. Your highness told me, I should post be-

fore.

Enter STANLEY.

K. RICH. My mind is chang'd.—Stanley, what news with you?

STAN. None good, my liege, to please you with the hearing;

Nor none so bad, but well may be reported.

K. RICH. Heyday, a riddle! neither good nor bad!

What need'st thou run so many miles about,
When thou may'st tell thy tale the nearest way?
Once more, what news?

STAN. Richmond is on the seas.

K. RICH. There let him sink, and be the seas on him!

White-liver'd runagate,¹ what doth he there?

¹ White-liver'd *runagate*,] This epithet, descriptive of cowardice, is not peculiar to Shakspeare. Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, speaking of the Helots, says:

“Leave those precepts to the white-lived Hylotes.”

STEEVENS.

STAN. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

K. RICH. Well, as you guess?

STAN. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton,

He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

K. RICH. Is the chair empty? is the sword unsway'd?

Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?

What heir of York² is there alive, but we?

And who is England's king, but great York's heir?

Then, tell me, what makes he upon the seas?

STAN. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

K. RICH. Unless for that he comes to be your liege,

You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes.

Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

STAN. No, mighty liege;³ therefore mistrust me not.

² *What heir of York—]* i. e. What son of Richard Duke of York? RITSON.

- Richard asks this question in the plenitude of power, and no one dares to answer him. But they whom he addresses, had they not been intimidated, might have told him, that there was a male heir of the house of York alive, who had a better claim to the throne than he; Edward Earl of Warwick, the only son of the Usurper's elder brother, George Duke of Clarence; and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and all her sisters, had a better title than either of them. MALONE.

The issue of King Edward had been pronounced *illegitimate*, the Duke of Clarence *attainted of high treason*,—and the usurper declared “the *undoubted heir of Richard duke of York*,”—by *act of parliament*: so that, as far as such a proceeding can alter the constitution, and legalize usurpation and murder, he is perfectly correct and unanswerable. RITSON.

³ *No, mighty liege;]* So the quarto. Folio—No, *my good lord.* MALONE.

K. RICH. Where is thy power then, to beat him back?

Where be thy tenants, and thy followers?
Are they not now upon the western shore,
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships?

STAN. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

K. RICH. Cold friends to me: What do they in the north,

When they should serve their sovereign in the west?

STAN. They have not been commanded, mighty king:

Pleaseth your majesty to give me leave,
I'll muster up my friends; and meet your grace,
Where, and what time, your majesty shall please.

K. RICH. Ay, ay, thou wouldest be gone to join with Richmond:

I will not trust you, sir.⁴

STAN. Most mighty sovereign,
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful;
I never was, nor never will be false.

K. RICH. Well, go, muster men. But, hear you leave behind

Your son, George Stanley; look your heart be firm,
Or else his head's assurance is but frail.

STAN. So deal with him, as I prove true to you.

[*Exit STANLEY.*]

Enter a Messenger.

MESS. My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire,
As I by friends am well advértised,

* *I will not trust you, sir.]* So the quarto. Folio—But I'll not trust thee. MALONE.

Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate,
Bishop of Exeter, his elder brother,
With many more confederates, are in arms.

Enter another Messenger.

2 MESS. In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords are
in arms ;
And every hour more competitors⁵
Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong.

Enter another Messenger.

3 MESS. My lord, the army of great Bucking-
ham—

K. RICH. Out on ye, owls ! nothing but songs of
death ? [He strikes him.

There, take thou that, till thou bring better news.

3 MESS. The news I have⁶ to tell your majesty,
Is,—that, by sudden floods and fall of waters,
Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd ;
And he himself wander'd away alone,
No man knows whither.

K. RICH. O, I cry you mercy :
There is my purse, to cure that blow of thine.

⁵ — more competitors—] That is, more opponents.

JOHNSON.

Competitors do not here mean *opponents*, but *associates*. See a note on this subject in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, where Sir Proteus, speaking of Valentine, says :

“ Myself in council his competitor.”

That is, his *associate*. M. MASON.

See Vol. IV. p. 233, n. 6. STEEVENS.

⁶ *The news I have &c.*] So the folio. The quarto reads :

“ Your grace mistakes ; the news I bring is good ;

“ My news is,” &c. MALONE.

Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd
Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

3 MESS. Such proclamation hath been made, my liege.

Enter another Messenger.

4 MESS. Sir Thomas Lovel, and lord marquis Dorset,

'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.
But this good comfort bring I to your highness,—
The Bretagne navy is dispers'd by tempest :
Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks,
If they were his assistants, yea, or no ;
Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
Upon his party : he, mistrusting them,
Hois'd sail, and made his course again for Bretagne.⁷

⁷ — and made his course again for Bretagne.] Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond, the eldest son of Edmund of Hadham Earl of Richmond, (who was half-brother to King Henry VI.) by Margaret, the only daughter of John the first Duke of Somerset, who was grandson to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, was carried by his uncle Jasper Earl of Pembroke immediately after the battle of Tewksbury into Britany, where he was kept in a kind of honourable custody by the Duke of Bretagne, and where he remained till the year 1484, when he made his escape and fled for protection to the French court. Being considered at that time as nearest in blood to King Henry VI. all the Lancastrian party looked up to him even in the life-time of King Edward IV. who was extremely jealous of him ; and after Richard usurped the throne, they with more confidence supported Richmond's claim. The claim of Henry Duke of Buckingham was in some respects inferior to that of Richmond ; for he was descended by his mother from Edmund the second Duke of Somerset, the younger brother of Duke John ; by his father from Thomas Duke of Gloster, the younger brother of John of Gaunt : but whatever priority the Earl of Richmond might claim by his mother, he could not plead any title through his father, who in fact had

K. Rich. March on, march on, since we are up
in arms ;
If not to fight with foreign enemies,
Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Enter CATESBY.

CATE. My liege, the duke of Buckingham is
taken,
That is the best news ; That the earl of Richmond
Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,⁸
Is colder news, but yet they must be told.⁹

K. Rich. Away towards Salisbury ; while we rea-
son here,¹
A royal battle might be won and lost :²—

no Lancastrian blood whatsoever ; nor was his maternal title of
the purest kind, for John the first Earl of Somerset was an ille-
gitimate son of John of Gaunt. MALONE.

⁸ — *landed at Milford,*] The Earl of Richmond embarked
with about 2000 men at Harfleur in Normandy, August 1st,
1485, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th. He directed his
course to Wales, hoping the Welsh would receive him cordially,
as their countryman, he having been born at Pembroke, and his
grand-father being Owen Tudor, who married Katharine of
France, the widow of King Henry V. MALONE.

⁹ — *they must be told.*] This was the language of Shak-
speare's time, when the word *news* was often considered as plural.
See note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I. sc. i. Vol. XVII.

All the modern editors, however, read—*it must be told.*

MALONE.

¹ — *while we reason here,*] i. e. while we talk here. See
Vol. VII. p. 294, n. 8. MALONE.

² — *A royal battle might be won and lost :]* So, in *Macbeth* :
“ When the battle’s lost and won.”

This antithetical phrase is found in several of our ancient
writers. STEEVENS.

Some one take order, Buckingham be brought
To Salisbury ;—the rest march on with me.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

A Room in Lord Stanley's House.

Enter STANLEY and Sir CHRISTOPHER URSWICK.

STAN. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from
me :³—

That, in the sty of this most bloody boar,

³ *Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me :]* The person, who is called Sir Christopher here, and who has been styled so in the *Dramatis Personæ* of all the impressions, I find by the *Chronicles* to have been Christopher Urswick, a bachelor in divinity ; and chaplain to the Countess of Richmond, who had intermarried wth the Lord Stanley. This priest, the history tells us, frequently went backwards and forwards, unsuspected, on messages betwixt the Countess of Richmond, and her husband, and the young Earl of Richmond, whilst he was preparing to make his descent on England. THEOBALD.

This Christopher Urswick was afterwards Almoner to King Henry VII. and retired to Hackney, where he died in 1521. On his tomb, still to be seen in that church, it is said “ *Ad exteris reges undecies pro patria Legatus ; Deconatum Eboracensem, Archidia conatum Richmudie, Decanatum Windesoriæ, habitos vivens reliquit. Episcopatum Norwicense oblatum recusavit.* ”— Weaver, who has printed this inscription, concludes his eulogium thus : “ here let him rest as an example for all our great prelates to admire, and for few or none to imitate.” REED.

This circumstance is also recorded by Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 4th edit. p. 187 : “ But most part they are very shamefast ; and that makes them with Pet. Blesensis, *Christopher Urswick*, and many such, to refuse honours, offices, and preferment.”

Dr. Johnson has observed, that *Sir* was anciently a title assumed by graduates. This the late Mr. Guthrie disputes ; and says, it

My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold ;
 If I revolt, off goes young George's head ;
 The fear of that withholds my present aid.⁴
 But, tell me, where is princely Richmond now ?

CHRIS. At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-west, in Wales.

STAN. What men of name resort to him ?

CHRIS. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier ;
 Sir Gilbert Talbot, sir William Stanley ;
 Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, sir James Blunt,
 And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew ;⁵

was a title sold by the pope's legates, &c. that his holiness might be on the same footing with the king. STEEVENS.

In *The Scornful Lady* of Beaumont and Fletcher, Welford says to Sir Roger, the curate, "I acknowledge you to be your art's master."—"I am but a *bachelor of art*, sir," replies Sir Roger. Mr. Guthrie would have done well to have informed us, how Sir Roger could possibly have *bought* his title of the pope's nuncio ; when, as Abigail tells us, he had only "twenty nobles *de claro*, besides his pigges *in posse*." FARMER.

See Vol. V. p. 7, n. 1. STEEVENS.

The title of *Sir* is still appropriated to Bachelors of Arts in the University of Dublin ; and the word *Bachelor* evidently derived from the French *bas Chevalier*, that is, a lower kind of Knight.—This accounts for the title of *Sir* being given to Bachelors.

M. MASON.

⁴ —— *my present aid.*] Thus the quarto. After these words three lines are added in the folio, in substance the same as the first three lines of Stanley's concluding speech. Instead of the concluding speech of the quarto, which is here followed, the folio reads thus :

" Well, hie to thy lord ; I kiss his hand ;
 " My letter will resolve him of my mind,
 " Farewell." MALONE.

⁵ —— *valiant crew* ;] This expression (which sounds but meanly in modern ears) has been transplanted by Dryden into his *Alexander's Feast* :

" Give the vengeance due
 " To the *valiant crew.*" STEEVENS.

And many other of great fame and worth :
And towards London do they bend their course,
If by the way they be not fought withal.

STAN. Well, hie thee to thy lord ; commend me
to him ;
Tell him, the queen hath heartily consented
He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.
These letters will resolve him of my mind.
Farewell. [*Gives Papers to Sir CHRISTOPHER.*
[*Exeunt.*

ACT V. SCENE I.

Salisbury. *An open Place.*

*Enter the Sheriff, and Guard, with BUCKINGHAM,
led to Execution.*

BUCK. Will not king Richard let me speak with
him ?⁶

SHER. No, my good lord ; therefore be patient.

BUCK. Hastings, and Edward's children, Rivers,
Grey,

⁶ *Will not king Richard let me speak with him ?*] The reason why the Duke of Buckingham solicited an interview with the King, is explained in *King Henry VIII.* Act I :

“ — I would have play'd

“ The part my father meant to act upon

“ The usurper Richard ; who, being at Salisbury,

“ Made suit to come in his presence ; which, if granted,

“ As he made semblance of his duty, would

“ Have put his knife into him.” STEEVENS.

Holy king Henry, and thy fair son Edward,
 Vaughan, and all that have miscarried
 By underhand corrupted foul injustice ;
 If that your moody discontented souls
 Do through the clouds behold this present hour,
 Even for revenge mock my destruction !—
 This is All-Souls' day, fellows, is it not ?

SHER. It is, my lord.

BUCK. Why, then All-Souls' day is my body's
 doomsday.

This is the day, which, in king Edward's time,
 I wish'd might fall on me, when I was found
 False to his children, or his wife's allies :
 This is the day, wherein I wish'd to fall
 By the false faith of him whom most I trusted ;
 This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul,
 Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs.⁷
 That high All-seer which I dallied with,
 Hath turned my feigned prayer on my head,
 And given in earnest what I begg'd in jest.
 Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men
 To turn their own points on their masters' bosoms :
 Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck,—
When he, quoth she, shall split thy heart with sor-
row,

Remember Margaret was a prophetess.—
 Come, sirs, convey me to the block of shame ;
 Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of
 blame.⁸

[*Exeunt BUCKINGHAM, &c.*

⁷ *Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs.*] Hanmer has rightly explained it, the time to which the punishment of his wrongs was *respited*.

Wrongs in this line means *wrongs done, or injurious practices.*
 JOHNSON.

⁸ —— *blame the due of blame.*] This scene should, in my

SCENE II.

Plain near Tamworth.

Enter, with Drum and Colours, RICHMOND, OXFORD,⁹ Sir JAMES BLUNT,¹ Sir WALTER HERBERT, and Others, with Forces, marching.

RICHM. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,

Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,
Thus far into the bowels of the land
Have we march'd on without impediment;
And here receive we from our father Stanley
Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
That spoil'd your summer fields, and fruitful vines,

opinion, be added to the foregoing Act, so the fourth Act will have a more full and striking conclusion, and the fifth Act will comprise the business of the important day, which put an end to the competition of York and Lancaster. Some of the quarto editions are not divided into Acts, and it is probable, that this and many other plays were left by the author in one unbroken continuity, and afterwards distributed by chance, or what seems to have been a guide very little better, by the judgment or caprice of the first editors. JOHNSON.

⁹ —— *Oxford,]* John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a zealous Lancastrian, who after a long confinement in Hames Castle in Picardy, escaped from thence in 1484, and joined the Earl of Richmond at Paris. He commanded the Archers at the battle of Bosworth.

MALONE.

¹ —— *Sir James Blunt,]* He had been captain of the Castle of Hames, and assisted the Earl of Oxford in his escape.

MALONE.

Swills your warm blood² like wash, and makes his
trough

In your embowell'd bosoms,³ this foul swine
Lies now⁴ even in the center of this isle,
Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn :
From Tamworth thither, is but one day's march.
In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
To reap the harvest of perpetual peace
By this one bloody trial of sharp war.

² *That spoil'd your summer fields, and fruitful vines,*
Swills your warm blood &c.] This sudden change from the past time to the present, and vice versa, is common to Shakspeare. So, in the argument prefixed to his *Rape of Lucrece* : “The same night he treacherously stealeth into her chamber, violently ravished her,” &c. MALONE.

³ —— *embowell'd bosoms,]* Exenterated; ripped up: alluding, perhaps, to the Promethean vulture; or, more probably, to the sentence pronounced in the English courts against traitors, by which they are condemned to be hanged, *drawn*, that is, *embowelled*, and quartered. JOHNSON.

Drawn, in the sentence pronounced upon traitors only, signifies to be *drawn by the heels or on a hurdle* from the prison to the place of execution. So, Dr. Johnson has properly expounded it in *Measure for Measure*, Act II. So, Holinshed, in the year 1569, and Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1614, p. 162, 171, 418, 763, 766. Sometimes our historians use a colloquial inaccuracy of expression in writing, hanged, *drawn*, and quartered; but they often express it—*drawn*, hanged, and quartered; and sometimes they add—bowelled, or his bowels taken out, which would be tautology, if the same thing was implied in the word *drawn*. TOLLET.

Drawn in the sensè of *embowelled*, is never used but in speaking of a fowl. It is true, *embowelling* is also part of the sentence in high treason, but in order of time it comes after *drawing* and *hanging*. BLACKSTONE.

⁴ *Lies now —]* i.e. sojourns. See Vol. XII. p. 144, n. 5.—For *lies*, the reading of the quarto, the editors of the folio, probably not understanding the term, substituted—*Is.* See p. 490, n. 1. MALONE.

OXF. Every man's conscience is a thousand swords,⁵
To fight against that bloody homicide.

HERB. I doubt not, but his friends will turn to us.

BLUNT. He hath no friends, but who are friends for fear ;
Which, in his dearest need, will fly from him.

RICHM. All for our vantage. Then, in God's name, march :
True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's wings,⁶
Kings it makes gods, and meaner creatures kings.

[*Exeunt,*

SCENE III.

Bosworth Field.

Enter King RICHARD, and Forces; the Duke of NORFOLK, Earl of SURREY, and Others.

K. RICH. Here pitch our tents, even here in Bosworth field.—

My lord of Surrey, why look you so sad ?

SUR. My heart is ten times lighter than my looks.

K. RICH. My lord of Norfolk,—

Nor. Here, most gracious liege.

⁵ ——conscience is a thousand swords,] Alluding to the old adage, “ *Conscientia mille testes.* ” BLACKSTONE.

Thus the quarto. The folio reads—a thousand men.

MALONE.

⁶ —— and flies with swallow's wings,] Drayton calls joy :
“ —— the swallow-winged joy.” STEEVENS.

K. RICH. Norfolk, we must have knocks; Ha! must we not?

NOR. We must both give and take, my loving lord.

K. RICH. Up with my tent: Here will I lie to-night;⁷

[*Soldiers begin to set up the King's Tent.*
But where, to-morrow?—Well, all's one for that.—Who hath descried the number of the traitors?

NOR. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power.

K. RICH. Why, our battalia trebles that account:⁸

Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse faction want.
Up with the tent.—Come, noble gentlemen,
Let us survey the vantage of the ground;—
Call for some men of sound direction:⁹—
Let's want no discipline, make no delay;
For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day. [*Exeunt.*]

⁷ *Up with my tent: Here will I lie to-night;*] Richard is reported not to have slept in his tent on the night before the battle, but in the town of Leicester. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *our battalia trebles that account:*] Richmond's forces are said to have been only five thousand; and Richard's army consisted of about twelve thousand men. But Lord Stanley lay at a small distance with three thousand men, and Richard may be supposed to have reckoned on them as his friends, though the event proved otherwise. MALONE.

⁹ — *sound direction:*] True judgment; tried military skill. JOHNSON.

Enter, on the other side of the Field, RICHMOND, Sir WILLIAM BRANDON, OXFORD, and other Lords.¹ Some of the Soldiers pitch RICHMOND's Tent.

RICHM. The weary sun hath made a golden set,
And, by the bright track of his fiery car,
Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow.—
Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.—
Give me some ink and paper² in my tent ;—
I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
Limit³ each leader to his several charge,

¹ — *Oxford, and other Lords.*] The direction in the folio is — “Enter Richmond and Sir William Brandon, Oxford and Dorset.” In the quarto only, “Enter Richmond, with the lordes.” This is one of numerous proofs that many of the alterations in the folio edition of this play were made by the players, and not by Shakspeare; for Shakspeare had been informed by Holinshed that Dorset was not at the battle of Bosworth; Richmond before his leaving Paris having borrowed a sum of money from the French King, Charles the Eighth, and having left the Marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bouchier as hostages for the payment. MALONE.

² *Give me some ink and paper—*] I have placed these lines as they stand in the first editions: the rest place them three speeches before, after the words *Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard*; interrupting what there follows; *The Earl of Pembroke, &c.* I think them more naturally introduced here, when he is retiring to his tent; and considering what he has to do that night. POPE.

I have followed the folio, which, of this play, is by far the most correct copy. I do not find myself much influenced by Mr. Pope’s remark. STEEVENS.

In the quarto, this and the three following lines are introduced immediately before the words—“ Come, gentlemen, let us consult,” &c. MALONE.

³ *Limit—*] i. e. appoint. So, in *Macbeth*:

“ I’ll make so bold to call,
“ For ‘tis my limited service.” STEEVENS.

And part in just proportion our small power.
 My lord of Oxford,—you, sir William Brandon,—
 And you, sir Walter Herbert, stay with me:
 The earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment;⁴—
 Good captain Blunt, bear my good night to him,
 And by the second hour in the morning
 Desire the earl to see me in my tent:—
 Yet one thing more, good captain, do for me;
 Where is lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know?

BLUNT. Unless I have mista'en his colours much,
 (Which, well I am assur'd, I have not done,) His regiment lies half a mile at least
 South from the mighty power of the king.

RICHM. If without peril it be possible,
 Sweet Blunt, make some good means⁵ to speak
 with him,
 And give him from me this most needful note.

BLUNT. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it;
 And so, God give you quiet rest to-night!

RICHM. Good night, good captain Blunt. Come,
 gentlemen,
 Let us consult upon to-morrow's business;
 In to my tent, the air is raw⁶ and cold.

[*They withdraw into the Tent.*

⁴ —— *keeps his regiment;*] i. e. remains with it. Thus we say of a person confined by illness—he *keeps* his chamber, or his bed. STEEVENS.

⁵ —— *make some good means—*] i. e. adopt some convenient measure. So, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

“To make such means for her as thou hast done.”

STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *the air is raw—*] So the quarto. Folio—the *dew*.

MALONE.

Enter, to his Tent, King RICHARD, NORFOLK, RATCLIFF, and CATESBY.

K. RICH. What is't o'clock?

CATE. It's supper time, my lord;
It's nine o'clock.⁷

K. RICH. I will not sup to-night.—
Give me some ink and paper.—
What, is my beaver easier than it was?—
And all my armour laid into my tent?

CATE. It is, my liege; and all things are in readiness.

K. RICH. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge;
Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

NOR. I go, my lord.

K. RICH. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle Norfolk.

NOR. I warrant you, my lord. [Exit.]

K. RICH. Ratcliff,—

RAT. My lord?

K. RICH. Send out a pursuivant at arms
To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring his power
Before sun-rising, lest his son George fall
Into the blind cave of eternal night.—
Fill me a bowl of wine.—Give me a watch:⁸—

[To CATESBY.]

⁷ *It's nine o'clock.*] So the folio. The quarto reads—It is six of the clock; full supper time. MALONE.

I think, we ought to read—*six* instead of *nine*. A supper at so late an hour as *nine o'clock*, in the year 1485, would have been a prodigy. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *Give me a watch:*] A *watch* has many significations, but I should believe that it means in this place not a sentinel,

Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.⁹—
Look that my staves be sound,¹ and not too heavy.
Ratcliff,—

which would be regularly placed at the king's tent; nor an instrument to measure time, which was not used in that age; but a watch-light, a candle to burn by him; the light that afterwards *burnt blue*; yet a few lines after, he says:

Bid my guard watch,

which leaves it doubtful whether *watch* is not here a sentinel.

JOHNSON.

A *watch*, i. e. guard, would certainly be placed about a royal tent, without any request of the King concerning it.

I believe, therefore, that particular kind of candle is here meant, which was anciently called a *watch*, because, being marked out into sections, each of which was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours. I have seen these candles represented with great nicety in some of the pictures of Albert Durer.

Barrett, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, mentions *watching* lamps or candles. So, in *Love in a Maze*, 1632:

“ — slept always with a *watching* candle.”

Again, in *The Noble Soldier*, 1634:

“ Beauty was turn'd into a *watching-candle* that went out stinking.”

Again, in *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

“ Sit now immur'd within their private cells,

“ And drink a long lank *watching* candle's smoke.”

Again, in *Albumazar*, 1610:

“ Sit up all night like a *watching* candle.” STEEVENS.

Lord Bacon mentions a species of light called an *all-night*, which is a wick set in the middle of a large cake of wax.

JOHNSON.

The word *give* shows, I think, that a *watch-light* was intended. Cole has in his *Dictionary*, 1679, *Watch-candle*.

MALONE.

⁹ *Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.*] So, in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, (copied from Hall's, Sig. II. iii. b.) “ Then he (inuironed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, and followed with his footmen,” &c. p. 754. STEEVENS.

¹ *Look that my staves be sound,*] *Staves* are the wood of the lances. JOHNSON.

RAT. My lord?

K. RICH. Saw'st thou the melancholy lord Northumberland?²

RAT. Thomas the earl of Surrey, and himself, Much about cock-shut time,³ from troop to troop,

As it was usual to carry more lances than one into the field, the lightness of them was an object of consequence. Hall informs us, that at the justs in honour of the marriage of Mary, the younger sister of King Henry VIII. with the King of France, that “a gentleman called Anthony Bownarme came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight x speres, that is to wyt, iii speres set in every styroppe forward, and under every thigh ii speres upwarde, and under his left arme was one spere backward, and the 10th in his hand,” &c. STEEVENS.

² —— the melancholy lord Northumberland?] Richard calls him *melancholy*, because he did not join heartily in his cause. “Henry the fourth earle of Northumberland,” says Holinshed, “whether it was by the commandement of King Richarde putting diffidence in him, or he did it for the love and favour he bare unto the earle [of Richmond], stood still with a great company, and intermixed not in the battaile; which was [after the battle] incontinently received into favour, and made of the counsayle.” MALONE.

³ *Much about cock-shut time,*] Ben Jonson uses the same expression in one of his entertainments:

“For you would not yesternight,

“Kiss him in the *cock-shut light.*”

Again, in *The Widow*, by Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, 1652:

“Come away then: a fine *cockshut evening.*”

Again, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

“In the twilight, *cock-shut light.*”

In *The Treatyse of Fishynge with the Angle*, by dame Julyana Bernes, 1496, among the directions to make a fishing rod is the following: “Take thenne and frette him faste with a *cockeshote corde*,” &c. but I cannot interpret the word. STEEVENS.

Cock-shut time,] i. e. twilight. In Mr. Whalley’s note upon Ben Jonson, Vol. V. p. 204: “A *Cockshut* is said to be a net to catch woodcocks; and as the time of taking them in this manner is in the twilight, either after sun-set or before its rising, *cock-shut* light may very properly express the evening or the morning twilight.” The particular form of such a net, and the

Went through the army, cheering up the soldiers.

K. Rich. I am satisfied. Give me a bowl of wine:

manner of using it, is delineated and described in *Dictionarium Rusticum*, 2 Vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1726, under the word *cock-roads*. It is the custom of the woodcock to lie close all day, and towards evening he takes wing, which act of flight might anciently be termed his *shoot* or *shot*. So, the ballast of a ship is said to *shoot*, when it runs from one side to the other. This etymology gives us, perhaps, the original signification of the word, without any recourse for it to the name of a net, which might receive its denomination from the time of the day, or from the occasion on which it was used; for I believe there was a net which was called a *cock-shot*. Holinshead's *Description of Britain*, p. 110, calls a stone which naturally has a hole in it, "an apt *cocke-shot* for the devil to run through;" which, I apprehend, alludes to the resemblance of the hole in the stone to the meshes of a net.

TOLLET.

Mr. Tollet's opinion may be supported by the following passage in a little metrical performance, called, *No Whipping nor Trippinge: but a kinde friendly Snippinge*, 1601:

"A silly honest creature may do well

"To watch a *cocke-shoote*, or a limed bush."

STEEVENS.

I must support my interpretation against Mr. Tollet. He in part admits, and then proceeds to overthrow it. And I will support it by the very instance Mr. Steevens adduced in his favour. The ballast of a ship may be said to *shoot*; as we now say, to *shoot coals*, or *corn* out of a sack; but it was never yet said that a woodcock *shoots*, when he takes his evening flight. *Cocke-shoote*, in the passage Mr. Steevens cites, is certainly a substantive, and the accusative case after the verb *watch*, which is confirmed by what follows, *or a limed bush*. And when the *cock-shut net* is fixed, a person always stands by to watch and manage it. A similar expression is in Hall's *Satires*:

"To watch a *sinking cock*, upon the shore.—"

WHALLEY.

The passage from Hall is misquoted. He alludes to Fishing, and says—

"Or watch a *sinking corke* upon the shore." Edit. 1602, *Virgidemiarum*, Lib. IV. p. 33. STEEVENS.

That *cockshut time* meant *twilight*, is ascertained by Minsheu's *Dictionary*, 1617. See the latter word. MALONE.

Ogilby, in his *Paraphrase of Æsop's Fables*, 4to. 1651, p. 6,

I have not that alacrity of spirit,⁴
 Nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have.—
 So, set it down.⁵—Is ink and paper ready?

RAT. It is, my lord.

K. RICH. Bid my guard watch; leave me.
 About the mid of night, come to my tent
 And help to arm me.—Leave me, I say.

[*King RICHARD retires into his Tent. Exeunt RATCLIFF and CATESBY.*

RICHMOND'S Tent opens, and discovers him and his Officers, &c.

Enter STANLEY.

STAN. Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

RICHM. All comfort that the dark night can afford,

introduces this expression in a way which perhaps strengthens Mr. Tollet's opinion that *cock-shoot* was taken from the flight of the woodcock. He makes the pine boast:

“ — when loud winds make *cock-shoots* thro' the wood,
 “ Rending down mighty okes, I firme have stood.”

Here, I apprehend, Ogilby means to describe hurricanes which, by blowing down the trees, made glades or partial openings in the woods. HOLT WHITE.

⁴ *I have not that alacrity of spirit, &c.]* So, in Holinshed, p. 775: “ — not using the alacritie of mirth and mind and countenance as he was accustomed to doo before he came toward the battell.” STEEVENS.

⁵ *So, set it down.]* The word *So* in the old copies stands at the beginning of the first line of this speech, caught perhaps by the compositor's eye glancing on the line below. Mr. Steevens made the emendation. In Richard's next speech the word *Ratcliff* is prefixed to the second line, but the metre shows that it was placed there by the negligence of the compositor. MALONE.

Be to thy person,⁶ noble father-in-law!
Tell me, how fares our loving mother?

STAN. I, by attorney,⁷ bless thee from thy mother,

Who prays continually for Richmond's good:
So much for that.—The silent hours steal on,
And flaky darkness breaks within the east.
In brief, for so the season bids us be,
Prepare thy battle early in the morning;
And put thy fortune to the arbitrement
Of bloody strokes, and mortal-staring war,⁸
I, as I may, (that which I would, I cannot,)
With best advantage will deceive the time,⁹
And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms:
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Lest, being seen, thy brother tender George
Be executed¹ in his father's sight.

⁶ *All comfort that the dark night can afford,*
Be to thy person,] So, in *Measure for Measure*:
“The best and wholesomest spirits of the night
“Envelop you,—.” STEEVENS.

⁷ —— *by attorney,]* By deputation. JOHNSON.

⁸ —— *mortal-staring war,]* Thus the old copies. I suppose,
by *mortal-staring war* is meant—*war that looks big, or stares*
fataley on its victims. STEEVENS.

I suspect the poet wrote—*mortal-scaring war.* MALONE.

I adhere to the old reading. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*,
Enobarbus says of Antony, who is issuing out to battle—

“Now he'll out-stare the lightning.”

Again, in *The Tempest*:

“—— why stand you
“In this strange stare ?” STEEVENS.

⁹ *I, as I may,—*
With best advantage will deceive the time,] I will take the
best opportunity to elude the dangers of this conjuncture.
JOHNSON.

¹ *Lest, being seen, thy brother tender George*
Be executed—] So Holinshed after Hall: “When the said

Farewell : The leisure and the fearful time
 Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,²
 And ample interchange of sweet discourse,
 Which so long sunder'd friends should dwell upon ;
 God give us leisure for these rites of love !
 Once more, adieu :—Be valiant, and speed well !

RICHM. Good lords, conduct him to his regiment :

I'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a nap ;
 Lest leaden slumber³ peise me down to-morrow,⁴

lord Stanley would have departed into his country to visit his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirits, as he openly said, (but the truth was to the intent to be in a perfite readinesse to join the earle of Richmonde at his first arrival in Englande,) the king in no wise would suffer him to depart before he had left as an hostage in the court, George Stanley, lord Strange, his first begotten son and heir.”—

“ The lord Stanley lodged in the same town, [Stafford] and hearing that the earle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gave to him place, dislodging him and his,—to avoid all suspicion, being afraide least if he should be seen openly to be a factor or ayder to the earle, his son-in-law, before the day of battayle, that king Richard, which yet not utterly put him in diffidence and mistrust, would put to some evil death his son and heir apparent.”

The young nobleman whom the poet calls George Stanley, was created Baron Strange, in right of his wife, by King Edward IV. in 1482. MALONE.

* — *The leisure and the fearful time*

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,] We have still a phrase equivalent to this, however harsh it may seem, *I would do this, if leisure would permit*, where *leisure*, as in this passage, stands for want of leisure. So again :

“ — More than I have said,—

“ The *leisure* and enforcement of the time

“ Forbids to dwell upon.” — JOHNSON.

That is, the small degree of leisure we have. M. MASON.

³ *Lest leaden slumber*—] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece* :

“ Now leaden slumber with life's strength doth fight.”

MALONE.

When I should mount with wings of victory :
Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.

[*Exeunt* Lords, &c. with STANLEY.]

O Thou ! whose captain I account myself,
Look on my forces with a gracious eye ;
Put in their hands thy bruising irons⁵ of wrath,
That they may crush down with a heavy fall
The usurping helmets of our adversaries !
Make us thy ministers of chastisement,
That we may praise thee in thy victory !
To thee I do commend my watchful soul,
Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes ;⁶
Sleeping, and waking, O, defend me still ! [Sleeps.]

⁴ —— peise me down to-morrow,] Thus the old copies. The modern editions read—poize. To *peize*, i. e. to *weigh down*, from *peser*, French.

I meet with this word in the old play of *The Raigne of King Edward the Third*, 1596 :

“ And peize their deeds with heavy weight of lead.”
Again, in *All for Money*, 1574 :

“ Then if you counterpeaze me learning with money.”

Again, in Christopher Middleton’s *Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloster*, 1600 :

“ Nor was her schooles peis’d down with golden waights.”

See notes on *The Merchant of Venice*, Vol. VII. p. 310.

STEEVENS.

⁵ —— bruising irons —] The allusion is to the ancient mace.

HENLEY.

⁶ Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes ;] So, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ — thy eyes’ windows fall

“ Like death—.” STEEVENS.

The Ghost⁷ of Prince EDWARD, Son to HENRY the Sixth, rises between the two Tents.

GHOST. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!⁸
 [To King RICHARD.]

⁷ *The Ghost &c.*] This circumstance is likewise found in Nichols's *Legend of King Richard III.* (inserted in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, edit. 1610.) and was apparently imitated from Shakspeare:

“ As in my tent on slumbring bed I lie,
 “ Horrid aspects appear'd unto mine eye :
 “ I thought that all those murder'd ghosts, whom I
 “ By death had sent to their untimely grave,
 “ With baleful noise about my tent did crye,
 “ And of the heavens, with sad complaint, did crave
 “ That they on guilty wretch might vengeance have.”

His terror on waking is likewise very forcibly described.

Drayton, in the 22d Song of his *Polyolbion*, may likewise have borrowed from our author :

“ Where to the guilty king, the black forerunning night,
 “ Appear the dreadful ghosts of *Henry* and his *son*,
 “ Of his own brother *George*, and his two *nephews*, done
 “ Most cruelly to death ; and of his *wife*, and *friend*
 “ Lord *Hastings*, with pale hands prepar'd as they would
 rend
 “ Him piece-meal ; at which oft he roareth in his sleep.”

STEEVENS.

The account given by Polydore Virgil, which was copied by Hall and Holinshed, is as follows: “ The fame went, that he had the same night [the night before the battle of Bosworth] a dreadful and a terrible dream ; for it seemed to him being aslepe, that he saw diverse ymages lyke terrible devilles, which pulled and haled him, not sufferynge him to take any quiet or reste. The which straunge vision not so sodaynly strake his heart with a sodayne feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with many busy and dreadful imaginacions. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for fear of his enemies, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recited and declared to his familiar friends, of the morning, his wonderfull vysion, and fearfull dreame.” I quote from Holinshed, because he was Shakspeare's authority.

Think, how thou stab'dst me in my prime of youth
At Tewksbury ; Despair therefore, and die !—

Be cheerful, Richmond ; for the wronged souls
Of butcher'd princes fight in thy behalf :
King Henry's issue, Richmond, comforts thee.

The Ghost of King HENRY the Sixth rises.

GHOST. When I was mortal, my anointed body
[To King RICHARD.

By thee was punched full of deadly holes :⁹
Think on the Tower, and me ; Despair, and die ;
Harry the sixth bids thee despair and die.—

Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror !

[To RICHMOND.

Harry, that prophecy'd thou should'st be king,¹
Doth comfort thee in thy sleep ; Live, and flourish!²

Polydore Virgil, as I have already observed, began to write his history about twenty years after Richard's death. MALONE.

See p. 430, n. 7. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow !]* So, in *King Richard II* :

“ Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his bosom.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ *By thee was punched full of deadly holes :]* The word, *punched*, which sounds but meanly to our ears, is also employed by Chapman in his version of the sixth *Iliad* :

“ — with a goad he *punch'd* each furious dame.”

STEEVENS.

¹ *Harry, that prophecy'd thou should'st be king,]* The prophecy, to which this allusion is made, was uttered in one of the parts of *Henry the Sixth*. JOHNSON.

See Vol. XIV. p. 158, n. 3. MALONE.

² *Doth comfort thee in thy sleep ; Live, and flourish !]* Surely, we should read, with Sir Thomas Hanmer :

Doth comfort thee in sleep ; Live thou and flourish !

STEEVENS.

The Ghost of CLARENCE rises.

GHOST. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!

[*To King RICHARD.*]

I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome wine,³
 Poor Clarence, by thy guile betray'd to death!
 To-morrow in the battle think on me,
 And fall thy edgeless sword;⁴ Despair, and die!—

Thou offspring of the house of Lancaster,

[*To RICHMOND.*]

The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee;
 Good angels guard thy battle! Live, and flourish!

The Ghosts of RIVERS, GREY, and VAUGHAN, rise.

RIV. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow,

[*To King RICHARD.*]

Rivers, that died at Pomfret! Despair, and die!

GREY. Think upon Grey and let thy soul despair!

[*To King RICHARD.*]

³ — *with fulsome wine,*] *Fulsome*, was sometimes used, I think, in the sense of *unctuous*. The wine in which the body of Clarence was thrown, was *Malmsey*. MALONE.

If Clarence had been choked by this wine, he might fairly enough have employed the epithet *fulsome* in its vulgar and accepted sense.—Shakspeare, however, seems to have forgot himself. The Duke (as appears from Act I. sc. ult.) was killed before he was thrown into the Malmsey butt, and consequently could not be *washed to death*. STEEVENS.

⁴ *And fall thy edgeless sword;*] *Fall*, in the present instance, is a verb active, signifying *to drop*, or *let fall*. So, in *Othello*:

“ If that the earth could teem with woman’s tears,

“ Each drop she *falls* would prove a crocodile.”

STEEVENS.

Vaugh. Think upon Vaughan ; and, with guilty fear,
 Let fall thy lance ! Despair, and die !—
 [To King RICHARD.]

All. Awake ! and think, our wrongs in Richard's bosom
 Will conquer him ;—awake, and win the day !

The Ghost of Hastings rises.

Ghost. Bloody and guilty, guiltily awake ;
 [To King RICHARD.]
 And in a bloody battle end thy days !
 Think on lord Hastings ; and despair, and die !—
 Quiet untroubled soul, awake, awake !
 [To RICHMOND.]
 Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's sake !

The Ghosts of the Two young Princes rise.

Ghosts. Dream on thy cousins smother'd in the Tower ;
 Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,⁵
 And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death !
 Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair, and die.—
 Sleep, Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake in joy ;
 Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy !

⁵ *Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,*] [The first folio &c.—laid.] This is a poor feeble reading. I have restored from the elder quarto, published in 1597, which Mr. Pope does not pretend to have seen :

“ Let us be *lead* within thy bosom, Richard.”
 This corresponds with what is said in the line immediately following :

“ And *weigh* thee down to ruin, shame, and death.”

THEOBALD.

Live, and beget a happy race of kings !
Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.

The Ghost of Queen ANNE rises.

GHOST. Richard, thy wife, that wretched Anne
thy wife,
That never slept a quiet hour with thee,⁶
Now fills thy sleep with perturbations :
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword ; Despair, and die !—
Thou, quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep ;
[To RICHMOND.

Dream of success and happy victory ;
Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.

The Ghost of BUCKINGHAM rises.

GHOST. The first was I, that help'd thee to the
crown ; [To King RICHARD.

⁶ *That never slept a quiet hour with thee,*] Shakspeare was probably here thinking of Sir Thomas More's animated description of Richard, which Holinshed transcribed : “ I have heard (says Sir Thomas) by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done [the murder of his nephews] he never had quiet in his mind. He never thought himself sure where he went abroad ; his eyes whirled about ; his body privily fenced ; his hand ever upon his dagger ; his countenance and manner like one always readie to strike againe. *He tooke ill rest a-nights ; lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch ; rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearfull dreames ; sodainely sometime start up, leapt out of bed, and ran about the chamber ;* so was his restless heart continually toss'd and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrances of his abominable deede.”

With such a companion well might Anne say, that she never slept one quiet hour. MALONE.

The last was I that felt thy tyranny :
 O, in the battle think on Buckingham,
 And die in terror of thy guiltiness !
 Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death ;
 Fainting, despair ; despairing, yield thy breath !—
 I died for hope,⁷ ere I could lend thee aid :

[To RICHMOND.]

But cheer thy heart, and be thou not dismay'd :
 God, and good angels fight on Richmond's side ;
 And Richard falls in height of all his pride.

[*The Ghosts vanish. King RICHARD starts out of his dream.*]

⁷ *I died for hope,*] i. e. I died for wishing well to you. But Mr. Theobald, with great sagacity, conjectured *holpe* or *aid*; which gave the line this fine sense, *I died for giving thee aid before I could give thee aid.* WARBURTON.

Sir Thomas Hanmer reads :

I died forsook,—

and supports his conjecture, as follows :

“ This, as appears from history, was the case of the Duke of Buckingham : that being stopped with his army upon the banks of Severn by great deluges of rain, he was deserted by his soldiers, who, being in great distress, half famished for want of victuals, and destitute of pay, disbanded themselves and fled.”

Sir Thomas Hanmer’s emendation is very plausible ; but may not the meaning of the expression be, *I died for only having hoped to give you that assistance, which I never had it in my power to afford you in reality ?*

It may, however, be observed, that *fore*, or *for*, when joined to a verb, had anciently a negative signification. So, in *Macbeth* :

“ — He shall live a man *forbid*.”

As to *bid* was to pray, so to *forbid* had the meaning directly opposite, i. e. to *curse*. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, to *forspeak* is to *speak against*. In *Hamlet*, and *The Midsummer-Night’s Dream*, to *fordo* is the very reverse of to *do*. *Holpen* or *holp* is the old participle passive of *help*, and is used in *Macbeth* :

“ — his great love, sharp as his spur, hath *holp* him

“ To his home before us.”

Instead of *for hope*, we may therefore read *forholpe*, which would mean *unaided, abandoned, deserted, unhelped*, which was

K. Rich. Give me another horse,⁸—bind up my wounds,—

Have mercy, Jesu!—Soft; I did but dream.—
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!—
The lights burn blue.⁹—It is now dead midnight.¹
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

the real misfortune of the Duke of Buckingham. The word *holp* has occurred likewise in this play:

“Let him thank me that *holp* to send him thither.”

Again, in *Coriolanus*:

“Have *holp* to make this rescue.” STEEVENS.

Perhaps we should read:

I died fore-done, &c.

So, in *Hamlet*, Act V:

“Fore-do its own life.” TYRWHITT.

⁸ *Give me another horse,*] There is in this, as in many of our author's speeches of passion, something very trifling, and something very striking. Richard's debate, whether he should quarrel with himself, is too long continued, but the subsequent exaggeration of his crimes is truly tragical. JOHNSON.

⁹ *The lights burn blue.*] So, in Lylly's *Galathea*, 1592: “I thought there was some *spirit* in it because it burnt so *blue*; for my mother would often tell me when the *candle burnt blue*, there was some ill *spirit* in the house.” It was anciently supposed that fire was a preservative against evil spirits; “because,” says Nash, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1595, “when any spirit appeareth, the lights by little and little goe out as it were of their own accord, and the *takers* are by degrees extinguished.” The *takers* are the spirits who blast or *take*. So, in *King Lear*:

“—strike her young bones

“Ye taking airs, with lameness!” STEEVENS.

¹ — *It is now dead midnight.*] So reads the quarto, 1597. The next quarto corruptly reads—“It is *not* dead midnight;” for which the editor of the folio, to obtain some sense, substituted, “Is it *not* dead midnight?” MALONE.

The reading of the quarto, 1597, could it be supposed to need support, might meet with it in the following observation of *Hamlet*:

“'Tis now the very witching time of *night*.”

STEEVENS.

What do I fear? myself? there's none else by:
 Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.²
 Is there a murderer here? No;—Yes; I am:
 Then fly,—What, from myself? Great reason:
 Why?

Lest I revenge. What? Myself on myself?
 I love myself.³ Wherefore? for any good,
 That I myself have done unto myself?
 O, no: alas, I rather hate myself,
 For hateful deeds committed by myself.

I am a villain: Yet I lie, I am not.
 Fool, of thyself speak well:—Fool, do not flatter.
 My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
 And every tongue brings in a several tale,
 And every tale condemns me for a villain.
 Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
 Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree;
 All several sins, all us'd in each degree,
 Throng to the bar, crying all,—Guilty! guilty!
 I shall despair.—There is no creature loves me;
 And, if I die, no soul will pity me:—
 Nay, wherefore should they? since that I myself
 Find in myself no pity to myself.
 Methought, the souls of all that I had murder'd⁴

² ——*that is, I am I.*] Thus the quarto, 1598, and the folio. The quarto, 1597, reads—I and I. I am not sure that it is not right. MALONE.

³ *I love myself.*] The old copies redundantly read—*Alack, I love, &c.* STEEVENS.

⁴ *Methought, the souls &c.*] These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech, that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced. Where then shall they be inserted? Perhaps after these words:

“ Fool, do not flatter.” JOHNSON.

I agree with Johnson in supposing that this and the two following lines have been misplaced, but I differ from him with respect to their just situation.—The place, in my opinion, ‘in

Came to my tent : and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

Enter RATCLIFF.

RAT. My lord,—

K. RICH. Who's there?

RAT. Ratcliff, my lord ; 'tis I.⁵ The early village
cock

which they might be introduced with the most propriety, is just
ten lines further on, after the words—

“ Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

“ Methought,” &c.

And then Ratcliff's reply—

“ Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.”

would be natural ; whereas as the text is now regulated, Rat-
cliff bids him not to be afraid of shadows, without knowing that
he had been haunted by them ; unless we suppose that the idea
of shadows is included in what Richard calls a *frightful dream*.

M. MASON.

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

What do I fear? &c.—

Methought, the souls of all that I had murder'd—] Either
the two and twenty intermediate lines are not Shakspeare's, or
are so unworthy of him, that it were to be wished they could
with propriety be degraded to the margin. I wonder that Dr.
Johnson, who thought the subsequent lines misplaced, did not
perceive that their connection with the preceding part of the
speech, ending at—*trembling flesh*, was interrupted solely by this
apparent interpolation, which is in the highest degree childish
and unnatural. RITSON.

I rather suppose these lines (though genuine) to have been
crossed out of the stage manuscript by Shakspeare himself, and
afterwards restored by the original but tasteless editor of his play.

Burbage, the first performer of Richard, might, for obvious
reasons, have requested their dismission ; or the poet discovering
how awkwardly they stood, might, “ without a prompter,” have
discarded them. STEEVENS.

“ ——'tis I.] Surely, these two syllables, serving only to de-
range the metre, should be omitted ; or we ought to read :

“ *My lord, 'tis I. The early village-cock—*.” STEEVENS.

Hath twice done salutation to the morn ;
Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.

K. Rich. O Ratcliff,⁶ I have dream'd a fearful
dream !—

What thinkest thou? will our friends prove all true?

Rat. No doubt, my lord.

K. Rich. Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

Rat. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of sha-
dows.

K. Rich. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard,
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers,
Armed in proof, and led by shallow Richmond.
It is not yet near day. Come, go with me ;
Under our tents I'll play the eaves-dropper,
To hear, if any mean to shrink from me.

[*Exeunt King RICHARD and RATCLIFF.*

RICHMOND wakes. Enter OXFORD and Others.

Lords. Good Morrow, Richmond.

Richm. 'Cry mercy, lords, and watchful gentle-
men,

That you have ta'en a tardy sluggard here.

Lords. How have you slept, my lord ?

Richm. The sweetest sleep, and fairest-boding
dreams,

That ever enter'd in a drowsy head,

⁶ *O, Ratcliff, &c.]* This and the two following lines are omitted in the folio. Yet Ratcliff is there permitted to say—“ be not afraid of shadows,” though Richard's dream has not been mentioned: an additional proof of what has been already suggested in p. 490, n. 1. MALONE.

Have I since your departure had, my lords.
 Methought, their souls, whose bodies Richard
 murder'd,
 Came to my tent, and cried—On! victory!
 I promise you, my heart is very jocund
 In the remembrance of so fair a dream.
 How far into the morning is it, lords?

LORDS. Upon the stroke of four.

RICHM. Why, then 'tis time to arm, and give
 direction.—

[*He advances to the Troops.*

More than I have said, loving countrymen,
 The leisure and enforcement of the time
 Forbids to dwell on: Yet remember this,—
 God, and our good cause, fight upon our side;
 The prayers of holy saints, and wronged souls,
 Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our faces;
 Richard except, those, whom we fight against,
 Had rather have us win, than him they follow.
 For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen,
 A bloody tyrant, and a homicide;
 One rais'd in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
 One that made means⁷ to come by what he hath,
 And slaughter'd those that were the means to help
 him;
 A base foul stone, made precious by the foil
 Of England's chair,⁸ where he is falsely set;

⁷ *One that made means*—] To make means was, in Shakespeare's time, often used in an unfavourable sense, and signified —to come at any thing by indirect practices. STEEVENS.

⁸ — by the foil

Of England's chair,] It is plain that foil cannot here mean that of which the obscurity recommends the brightness of the diamond. It must mean the leaf (*feuille*) or thin plate of metal in which the stone is set. JOHNSON.

Nothing has been, or is still more common, than to put a

One that hath ever been God's enemy :
 Then, if you fight against God's enemy,
 God will, in justice, ward you as his soldiers ;
 If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,
 You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain ;
 If you do fight against your country's foes,
 Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire ;
 If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
 Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors ;
 If you do free your children from the sword,
 Your children's children quit⁹ it in your age.
 Then, in the name of God, and all these rights,
 Advance your standards, draw your willing swords :
 For me, the ransom of my bold attempt¹
 Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face ;
 But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt
 The least of you shall share his part thereof.
 Sound, drums and trumpets, boldly and cheerfully ;
 God, and Saint George!¹² Richmond, and victory !

[*Exeunt.*

bright-coloured foil under a cloudy or low-prized stone. The same allusion is common to many writers. So, in a Song published in *England's Helicon*, 1614 :

“ False stones by foiles have many one abus'd.”

STEEVENS.

England's chair means England's throne. Set is used equivocally. MALONE.

⁹ —quit—] i. e. requite. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ To let a fellow who will take rewards,

“ And say, God quit you !—” STEEVENS.

¹ —the ransom of my bold attempt—] The fine paid by me in atonement for my rashness shall be my dead corse.

JOHNSON.

² God, and Saint George!] Saint George was the common cry of the English soldiers when they charged the enemy. The author of the old *Arte of Warre*, printed in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, formally enjoins the use of this cry among his military laws, p. 84 :

“ Item, that all soouldiers entring into battaile, assault, skirmish, or other faction of armes, shall have for their common cry and

Re-enter King RICHARD, RATCLIFF, Attendants, and Forces.

K. RICH. What said Northumberland, as touching Richmond?

RAT. That he was never trained up in arms.

K. RICH. He said the truth: And what said Surrey then?

RAT. He smil'd and said, the better for our purpose.

K. RICH. He was i'the right; and so, indeed, it is. [Clock strikes.]

Tell the clock there.—Give me a calendar.—

Who saw the sun to-day?

RAT. Not I, my lord.

word, *Saint George, forward, or upon them, saint George*, whereby the souldiour is much comforted, and the enemy dismayed by calling to minde the ancient valour of England, which with that name has so often been victorious; and therefore he, who upon any *sinister zeale*, shall *maliciously omit* so fortunate a name, shall be *severely punished* for his obstinate *erroneous heart*, and *perverse mind*.[”]

Hence too the humour of the following lines in Marston's nervous but neglected satires, entitled *The Scourge of Villanie*, printed in 1599, Lib. III. Sat. viii:

“ A pox upon’t that *Bacchis*’ name should be

“ The watch-word given to the souldierie.

“ Goe troupe to field, mount thy obscured fame,

“ Cry out *Saint George*, invoke thy mistresse’ name;

“ Thy *Mistresse* and *Saint George*,” &c.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, that admirable and early ridicule of romance-writing, where the champion *Ralph* is going to attack the *Barber*, or the huge giant *Barboroso*, the burlesque is heightened, when, with much solemnity, and as if a real heroick encounter had been going forward, he cries out, “ *Saint George!* set on before, march squire and page.” Act III. sc. i. And afterwards, when the engagement begins, *Ralph* says, “ *St. George for me;*” and *Barbaroso*, “ *Garagantua for me.*” T. WARTON.

K. Rich. Then he despairs to shine ; for, by the book,

He should have brav'd the east³ an hour ago :
A black day will it be to somebody.—
Ratcliff,—

Rat. My lord ?

K. Rich. The sun will not be seen to-day ;
The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.
I would, these dewy tears were from the ground.
Not shine to-day ! Why, what is that to me,
More than to Richmond ? for the self-same heaven,
That frowns on me, looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK.

Nor. Arm, arm, my lord ; the foe vaunts in the field.

K. Rich. Come, bustle, bustle ;—Caparison my horse ;—

Call up lord Stanley, bid him bring his power :—
I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,
And thus my battle shall be ordered.
My forward shall be drawn out all in length,⁴

³ —— brav'd the east—] i. e. made it splendid. So, Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew*, says to the Tailor : “—thou hast braved many men [i. e. invested them with finery] brave not me.” The common signification of the verb—to *brave*, will, in my apprehension, hardly suit the passage before us ; for with what propriety can the sun be said to *challenge* or *set the East at defiance*? STEEVENS.

⁴ *My forward shall be drawn out all in length,*] So Holinshed : “ King Richard havyng all things in a readiness went forth with the army out of his tentes, and began to set his men in array : first the *forward* set forth a marvellous length, both of horsemen and also of footemen,—and to the formost part of all

Consisting equally of horse and foot ;
 Our archers shall be placed in the midst :
 John duke of Norfolk, Thomas earl of Surrey,
 Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.
 They thus directed, we ourself will follow⁵
 In the main battle ; whose puissance on either side
 Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.
 This, and Saint George to boot !⁶—What think'st
 thou, Norfolk ?

NOR. A good direction, warlike sovereign.—
 This found I on my tent this morning.⁷

[Giving a Scrawl.

K. RICH. *Jocky of Norfolk, be not too bold,*⁸

[Reads.

*For Dickon thy master⁹ is bought and
 sold.*

the bowmen as a strong fortresse for them that came after ; and over this John duke of Norfolk was head captain. After him followed the king with a mighty sort of men.” MALONE.

⁵ —— *we ourself will follow* —] The word—*ourself*, was judiciously supplied by Sir Thomas Hanmer, to complete the verse. STEEVENS.

⁶ *This, and Saint George to boot !*] That is, this is the order of our battle, which promises success ; and over and above this, is the protection of our patron saint. JOHNSON.

To boot is (as I conceive) to help, and not *over and above*.

HAWKINS.

Mr. Hawkins is certainly right. So, in *King Richard II* :

“ Mine innocence, and Saint George to thrive.”

The old English phrase was, *Saint George to borrow*. So, in *A Dialogue, &c.* by Dr. William Bulleyne, 1564: “ Maister and maistres, come into this vallie,—untill this storme be past : Saincte George to borrowe, mercifull God, who did ever see the like ?” Signat. K. 7. b. MALONE.

⁷ *This found I on my tent this morning.*] Sir Thomas Hanmer supplies the deficiency in the metre of this line, by reading :

This paper found I &c. STEEVENS.

⁸ —— *be not too bold,*] The quarto, 1598, and the folio, read

A thing devised by the enemy.—

Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge :
 Let not our babbling dreams¹ affright our souls ;
 Conscience is but a word² that cowards use,
 Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe ;
 Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.

—so bold. But it was certainly an error of the press : for in both Hall and Holinshed, the words are given as in the text.

MALONE.

⁹ —— *Dickon thy master &c.]* *Dickon* is the ancient vulgar familiarization of *Richard*. In *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575, *Diccon* is the name of the Bedlam.—In the words—*bought and sold*, I believe, there is somewhat proverbial. So, in *The Comedy of Errors* : “ It would make a man as mad as a buck, to be so *bought and sold*.” Again, in *King John* :

“ Fly, noble English, you are *bought and sold*.”

Again, in *Troilus and Cressida*, with an addition that throws more light on the phrase : “ —Thou art *bought and sold* among those of any wit, like a Barbarian slave.” STEEVENS.

Again, in *Mortimeriados*, a poem, by Michael Drayton, no date :

“ Is this the kindnes that thou offerest me ?

“ And in thy country am I *bought and sold*? ”

Again, in Skelton's *Colin Clout*, 1568 :

“ How prelacy is *sold and bought*,

“ And come up of nought.”

Again, in Bacon's *History of King Henry VII* : “ —all the news ran upon the duke of Yorke, that he had been entertained in Ireland, *bought and sold* in France,” &c.—The expression seems to have signified that some *foul play* has been used. The foul play alluded to here, was Stanley's desertion. MALONE.

¹ *Let not our babbling dreams &c.]* I suspect these six lines to be an interpolation ; but if Shakspeare was really guilty of them in his first draught, he probably intended to leave them out when he substituted the much more proper harangue that follows.

TYRWHITT.

² *Conscience is but a word—]* So the quarto, 1598. *But* being accidentally omitted in a later quarto, the editor of the folio supplied the omission by reading—*For conscience is a word, &c.* MALONE.

March on, join bravely, let us to't pell-mell ;
If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.³ —

What shall I say more than I have infer'd ?
Remember whom you are to cope withal ;—
A sort of vagabonds,⁴ rascals, and run-aways,
A scum of Bretagnes, and base lackey peasants,
Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth
To desperate ventures⁵ and assur'd destruction.
You sleeping safe, they bring you to unrest ;
You having lands, and bless'd with beauteous wives,
They would restrain the one,⁶ distain the other.
And who doth lead them, but a paltry fellow,
Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost ?⁷

³ If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.] So, in *Macbeth* :
“ That summons thee to heaven, or to hell.”

Again, in *King Henry VI. P. II.*:

“ If not in heaven, you'll surely sup in hell.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ A sort of vagabonds,] A sort, that is, a company, a collection. See note on *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Vol. IV. p. 408, n. 2. JOHNSON.

⁵ — ventures—] Old copies—adventures. STEEVENS.

⁶ They would restrain the one,] i. e. they would lay *restrictions* on the possession of your lands; impose conditions on the proprietors of them. Dr. Warburton for *restrain* substituted *distain*, which has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. “ To *distain*,” says he, “ is to *seize upon*;” but to *distain* is not to *seize* generally, but to *seize* goods, cattle, &c. for non-payment of rent, or for the purpose of enforcing the process of courts. The *restrictions* likely to be imposed by a conquering enemy on lands, are imposts, contributions, &c. or absolute confiscation.—“ And if he [Henry Earl of Richmond] should achieve his false intent and purpose,” (says Richard in his circular letter sent to the Sheriffs of the several counties in England on this occasion; *Paston Letters*, II. 321,) “ every man's life, livelihood, and goods, shall be in his hands, liberty, and disposition.” MALONE.

⁷ Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost ?] This is spoken by Richard, of Henry Earl of Richmond; but they were

A milk-sop,⁸ one that never in his life
Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow?

far from having any *common* mother, but England: and the Earl of Richmond was not subsisted abroad at the nation's public charge. During the greatest part of his residence abroad, he was watched and restrained almost like a captive; and subsisted by supplies conveyed from the Countess of Richmond, his mother. It seems probable, therefore, that we must read:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost. THEOBALD.

Our mother's cost?] Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong: he reads, therefore, and all the editors after him:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost.

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from Holinshed, and you will find at once, that Shakspeare had been there before me:

" You see further, how a company of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runagates be aiders and partakers of this feate and enterprize.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond, capitaine of this rebellion, he is a Welch milksop—brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis Duke of Britaine." P. 756.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler, Hall, edit. 1548, fol. 54, but his printer has given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspeare. FARMER.

See a Letter of King Richard III. persuading his subjects to resist Henry Tydder, &c. in Sir John Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 318. HENLEY.

Henry Earl of Richmond was long confined in the court of the Duke of Britaine, and supported there by Charles Duke of Burgundy, who was *brother-in-law* to King Richard. Hence Mr. Theobald justly observed that *mother* in the text was not conformable to the fact. But Shakspeare, as Dr. Farmer has observed, was led into this error by Holinshed, where he found the preceding passage in an oration which Hall, in imitation of the ancient historians, invented, and exhibited as having been spoken by the King to his soldiers before the battle of Bosworth.

If, says a Remarker, [Mr. Ritson,] *it ought to be so in Shakspeare*, why stop at this correction, and why not in *K. Henry V.* print *præcarissimus* instead of *præclarissimus*? [See Vol. XII. p. 524, n. 4.] And indeed if *brother* is to be substituted for *mother* here, there can be no reason why all other similar errors should not be corrected in like manner. But the Remarker mis-

Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again ;
 Lash hence these over-weening rags of France,
 These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives ;

understood Dr. Farmer's words, which only mean—as it is in the original, and as *Shakspeare* ought to have written. Dr. Farmer did not say—"as it ought to be printed in *Shakspeare*."

In all the other places where *Shakspeare* had been led into errors by mistakes of the press, or by false translations, his text has been very properly exhibited as he wrote it; for it is not the business of an editor to new-write his author's works. Thus, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV. sc. i. we have—"Let the old ruffian know, I have many other ways to die;" though we know the sense of the passage in Plutarch there copied is,—that "he [the old ruffian] hath many other ways to die." Again, in *Julius Cæsar*, Antony is still permitted to say, that Cæsar had left the Roman people his arbours and orchards "on this side Tyber," though it ought to be—"on that side Tyber :" both which mistakes *Shakspeare* was led into by the ambiguity and inaccuracy of the old translation of Plutarch.

In like manner in *King Henry V. præclarissimus* is exhibited as it was written by *Shakspeare*, instead of *præcarissimus*; and in the same play I have followed our author in printing in Vol. XII. p. 292, Lewis the tenth, though Lewis the ninth was the person meant: an error into which he was led, as in the present instance, by a mistake of the press.

For all such inaccuracies the poet, and not his editor, is responsible: and in the passage now under our consideration more particularly the text ought not to be disturbed, because it ascertains a point of some moment; namely that Holinshed, and not Hall, was the historian that *Shakspeare* followed. Of how much consequence this is, the reader may ascertain by turning to the *Dissertation on the Plays of King Henry VI.* where this circumstance, if I do not deceive myself, contributes not a little in addition to the other proofs there adduced, to settle a long-agitated question, and to show that those plays were *re-written* by *Shakspeare*, and not his *original* composition. MALONE.

* *A milk-sop, &c.] So, in The Mirrour for Magistrates*, already quoted :

" First with our foe-mens captaine to begin,

" A weake Welch milksop,—."

Alluding perhaps to *goat's milk*, of which anciently the Welsh were fonder than they are at present. STEEVENS.

Who, but for dreaming on this fond exploit,
For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd themselves :

If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
And not these bastard Bretagnes; whom our fathers
Have in their own land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
And, on record, left them the heirs of shame.
Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
Ravish our daughters?—Hark, I hear their drum.

[*Drum afar off.*

Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!
Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood;
Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!¹⁹—

Enter a Messenger.

What says lord Stanley? will he bring his power?

Mess. My lord, he doth deny to come.

K. Rich. Off instantly with his son George's head.¹

¹⁹ *Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!*] That is, *fright the skies with the shivers of your lances.* JOHNSON.

So, in *Soliman and Perseda*:

“Now by the marble face of the *welkin*.”

A similar idea is more tamely expressed in W. Smith's *Palsgrave*, 1613:

“Spears flew in splinters half the way to heaven.”

The same imagery is justified by the following passage in Froissart's *Chronicle*, Vol. II. cap. lxxviii: “Syr Raynolde du Roy brake his spere in iiii peces, and the shevers flewe a grete hyght in to the ayre.” STEEVENS.

¹ *Off instantly &c.*] The word—*instantly*, was supplied by Sir Thomas Hanmer. Without it, this line has no pretensions to metre. STEEVENS.

NOR. My lord, the enemy is pass'd the marsh;²
After the battle let George Stanley die.

K. RICH. A thousand hearts are great within my bosom :

Advance our standards,³ set upon our foes ;
Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons !
Upon them ! Victory sits on our helms. [*Exeunt.*

² — *the enemy is pass'd the marsh;*] There was a large marsh in Bosworth plain between the two armies. Henry passed it, and made such a disposition of his forces that it served to protect his right wing. By this movement he gained also another point, that his men should engage with the sun behind them, and in the faces of his enemies : a matter of great consequence when bows and arrows were in use. MALONE.

³ *Advance our standards, &c.]* So again, in *The Mirrour of Magistrates* ; and apparently borrowed from Shakspeare :

“ Advance then captaines, forward to the fight,
“ Draw forth your swords, each man address his sheeld ;
“ Hence faint conceites, die thoughts of coward flight,
“ To heaven your hearts, to fight your valours yeeld :
“ Behold our foes do brave us in the field.
“ Upon them, friends ; the cause is yours and mine ;
“ Saint George and conquest on our helmes doth shine.”

STEEVENS.

So Holinshed after Hall : “ —like valiant champions advance forth your standardes, and assay whether your enemies can decide and try the title of battaile by dint of sword ; avaunce, I say again, forward, my captaines.—Now Saint George to borrow, let us set forward.” MALONE.

SCENE IV.

Another Part of the Field.

Alarum : Excursions. Enter NORFOLK, and Forces ; to him CATESBY.

CATE. Rescue, my lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue !
 The king enacts more wonders than a man,
 Daring an opposite to every danger ;⁴
 His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
 Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death :
 Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost !

⁴ *Daring an opposite to every danger ;*] Perhaps the poet wrote :

Daring and opposite to every danger. TYRWHITT.

Perhaps the following passage in Chapman's version of the eighth Book of Homer's *Odyssey* may countenance the old reading :

“ — a most dreadful fight

“ *Daring against him.*” STEEVENS.

The old reading is perhaps right. *An opposite* is frequently used by Shakspeare and the contemporary writers, for *adversary*. So, in *Twelfth-Night* : “ — your *opposite* hath in him what youth, strength, skill, and wrath, can furnish man withal.” Again : “ —and his *opposite* the youth, bears in his visage no presage of cruelty.” So, in *Blurt Mr. Constable*, a comedy, by Middleton, 1602 : “ — to strengthen us against all *opposites*.” Again, more appositely, in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602 :

“ Myself, myself, will *dare* all *opposites*.”

The sense then should seem to be, that King Richard enacts wonders, *daring the adversary he meets with to every danger attending single combat.* MALONE.

To dare a single opposite to every danger, is no very wonderful exploit.—I should therefore adopt Tyrwhitt's amendment, which infers that he flew to oppose every danger, wherever it was to be found, and read with him, “ *and opposite.*”

M. MASON.

Alarum. Enter King RICHARD.

K. RICH. A horse ! a horse !⁵ my kingdom for a horse !

CATE. Withdraw, my lord, I'll help you to a horse.

K. RICH. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die :
I think, there be six Richmonds in the field ;
Five have I slain to-day, instead of him :⁶—

⁵ *A horse ! a horse !*] In *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594, the Moor calls out in the same manner :

“ A horse, a horse, villain a horse !
“ That I may take the river straight, and fly !
“ — Here is a horse, my lord,
“ As swiftly pac'd as Pegasus.”

This passage in Shakspeare appears to have been imitated by several of the old writers, if not stolen. So, Heywood, in the Second Part of his *Iron Age*, 1632 :

“ — a horse, a horse !

“ Ten kingdoms for a horse to enter Troy.” STEEVENS.

Marston seems to have imitated this line in his *Satires*, 1599 :

“ A man, a man, a kingdom for a man !” MALONE.

This line is introduced into Marston's *What you will*, Act II. sc. i. 4to. 1607 :

“ Ha ! he mounts Chirall on the wings of fame.
“ *A horse ! a horse ! my kingdome for a horse !*
“ Looke thee, I speake play scraps,” &c. REED.

⁶ *Five have I slain to-day, instead of him :*] Shakspeare had employed this incident with historical propriety in *The First Part of King Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

Shakspeare had good ground for this poetical exaggeration ; Richard, according to Polydore Virgil, was determined, if possible, to engage with Richmond insingle combat. [See p. 521, l. 5.] For this purpose he rode furiously to that quarter of the field where the Earl was ; attacked his standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon, and killed him ; then assaulted Sir John Cheney, whom he overthrew : having thus at length cleared his way to his an-

A horse ! a horse ! my kingdom for a horse !⁷

[*Exeunt.*

Alarums. Enter King RICHARD and RICHMOND; and exeunt, fighting. Retreat, and flourish. Then enter RICHMOND, STANLEY, bearing the Crown, with divers other Lords, and Forces.

RICHM. God, and your arms, be prais'd, victorious friends ;

The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead.

STAN. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee !

Lo, here, this long-usurped royalty,
From the dead temples of this bloody wretch⁸
Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal ;
Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it.

tagonist, he engaged in single combat with him, and probably would have been victorious, but that at that instant Sir William Stanley with three thousand men joined Richmond's army, and the royal forces fled with great precipitation. Richard was soon afterwards overpowered by numbers, and fell, fighting bravely to the last moment. MALONE.

⁷ *A horse ! a horse !*] Some inquiry hath been made for the first performers of the capital characters of Shakspeare.

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roscius* of Camden, was the original Richard, from a passage in the poems of Bishop Corbet ; who introduced his host at Bosworth describing the battle :

“ But when he would have said king Richard died,
“ And call'd a horse, a horse, he Burbage cried.”

FARMER.

⁸ — *of this bloody wretch—*] It is not necessary to suppose that Richmond points to the dead body of Richard, when he speaks of him. According to an ancient idiom in our language, the demonstrative pronoun is often used instead of the prepositive article. So, in *King Henry IV. P. I.* :

“ — but for these vile guns

“ He would himself have been a soldier.” STEEVENS.

RICHM. Great God of heaven, say, amen, to all!—

But, tell me first,⁹ is young George Stanley living?

STAN. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town; Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw us.

RICHM. What men of name are slain on either side?

STAN. John duke of Norfolk, Walter lord Ferrers,

Sir Robert Brakenbury, and sir William Brandon.

RICHM. Inter their bodies as becomes their births.

Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled,
That in submission will return to us;
And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,¹
We will unite the white rose with the red:—
Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,
That long hath frown'd upon their enmity!—
What traitor hears me, and says not,—amen?
England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself;
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,
The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire;
All this divided York and Lancaster,
Divided, in their dire division.²—

⁹ *But, tell me first, &c.]* The word—*first*, was introduced by Sir Thomas Hanmer, to complete the verse. STEEVENS.

¹ — *as we have ta'en the sacrament,]* So, in Holinshed, p. 745: “The earle himselfe first tooke a corporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he shuld be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conjoined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the fourth.” STEEVENS.

² *All this divided York and Lancaster,*

Divided, in their dire division.] I think the passage will be somewhat improved by a slight alteration:

O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,
 The true successors of each royal house,
 By God's fair ordinance conjoin together !
 And let their heirs, (God, if thy will be so,) Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd peace,
 With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days !
 Abate the edge³ of traitors, gracious Lord,
 That would reduce⁴ these bloody days again,
 And make poor England weep in streams of blood !
 Let them not live to taste this land's increase,
 That would with treason wound this fair land's
 peace !

Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again ;
 That she may long live here, God say—Amen !

[*Exeunt.*⁵

*All that divided York and Lancaster,
 Divided in their dire division,
 O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
 The true successors of each royal house,
 By God's fair ordinance conjoin together !
 Let them unite all that York and Lancaster divided.*

JOHNSON.

³ *Abate the edge—*] To *abate*, is to lower, depress, subdue. So, in *Coriolanus* :

“ — deliver you, as most
 “ *Abated captives,—.*” STEEVENS.

⁴ *— reduce—*] i. e. bring back ; an obsolete sense of the word. So, in *The goodly History of the moste noble and beautiful Ladye Lucres of Scene in Tuskan, and of her louer Eurialus &c.* 1560 : “ The mornynge forsakyng the golden bed of Titan, *reduced* the desyred day—.” STEEVENS.

⁵ This is one of the most celebrated of our author's performances ; yet I know not whether it has not happened to him as to others, to be praised most, when praise is not most deserved. That this play has scenes noble in themselves, and very well contrived to strike in the exhibition, cannot be denied. But some parts are trifling, others shocking, and some improbable.

JOHNSON.

I agree entirely with Dr. Johnson in thinking that this play

from its first exhibition to the present hour has been estimated greatly beyond its merit. From the many allusions to it in books of that age, and the great number of editions it passed through, I suspect it was more often represented and more admired than any of our author's tragedies. Its popularity perhaps in some measure arose from the detestation in which Richard's character was justly held, which must have operated more strongly on those whose grand-fathers might have lived near his time ; and from its being patronized by the Queen on the throne, who probably was not a little pleased at seeing King Henry VII. placed in the only favourable light in which he could have been exhibited on the scene. MALONE.

I most cordially join with Dr. Johnson and Mr. Malone in their opinions ; and yet perhaps they have overlooked one cause of the success of this tragedy. The part of Richard is, perhaps, beyond all others variegated, and consequently favourable to a judicious performer. It comprehends, indeed, a trait of almost every species of character on the stage. The hero, the lover, the statesman, the buffoon, the hypocrite, the hardened and repenting sinner, &c. are to be found within its compass. No wonder, therefore, that the discriminating powers of a Burbage, a Garrick, and a Henderson, should at different periods have given it a popularity beyond other dramas of the same author.

Yet the favour with which this tragedy is now received, must also in some measure be imputed to Mr. Cibber's reformation of it, which, generally considered, is judicious : for what modern audience would patiently listen to the narrative of Clarence's dream, his subsequent expostulation with the Murderers, the prattle of his children, the soliloquy of the Scrivener, the tedious dialogue of the Citizens, the ravings of Margaret, the gross terms thrown out by the Duchess of York on Richard, the repeated progress to execution, the superfluous train of spectres, and other undramatick incumbrances, which must have prevented the more valuable parts of the play from rising into their present effect and consequence ?—The expulsion of languor, therefore, must atone for such remaining want of probability as is inseparable from an historical drama into which the events of fourteen years are irregularly compressed. STEEVENS.

The Life and Death of King Richard the Third.] The oldest known edition of this tragedy is printed for Andrew Wise, 1597 : but Harrington, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, written in 1590, and prefixed to the translation of Ariosto, says, that a tragedy of *Richard the Third* had been acted at Cambridge. His words are, “ For tragedies, to omit other famous tragedies, that which was played at St. John's in Cambridge, of *Richard the Third*,

would move, I think, Phalaris the tyrant, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men," &c. He most probably means Shakspeare's; and if so, we may argue, that there is some more ancient edition of this play than what I have mentioned; at least this shows how early Shakspeare's play appeared; or if some other *Richard the Third* is here alluded to by Harrington, that a play on this subject preceded our author's. T. WARTON.

It appears from the following passage in the preface to Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, 1596, that a Latin tragedy of *King Richard III.* had been acted at Trinity College, Cambridge: " — or his fellow codshead, that in the Latine tragedie of *King Richard*, cried—*Ad urbs, ad urbs, ad urbs*, when his whole part was no more than—*Urbs, urbs, ad arma, ad arma.*" STEEVENS.

The play on this subject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and sometimes mistaken for Shakspeare's, was a Latin one, written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John's in our university, some years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Museum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

A childish imitation of Dr. Legge's play was written by one Lacy, 1583; which had not been worth mentioning, were they not confounded by Mr. Capell. FARMER.

The Latin play of *King Richard III.* (MSS. Harl. n. 6926,) has the author's name,—Henry Lacey, and is dated—1586.

TYRWHITT.

Heywood, in his *Actor's Vindication*, mentions the play of *King Richard III.* "acted in St. John's Cambridge, so essentially, that had the tyrant Phalaris beheld his bloody proceedings, it had mollified his heart, and made him relent at sight of his inhuman massacres." And in the books of the Stationers' Company June 19, 1594, Thomas Creede made the following entry: "An enterlude, intitled the tragedie of *Richard the Third*, wherein is shown the deathe of Edward the Fourthe, with the smotheringe of the two princes in the Tower, with the lamentable ende of Shore's wife, and the contention of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke." This could not have been the work of Shakspeare, unless he afterwards dismissed the death of Jane Shore, as an unnecessary incident, when he revised the play. Perhaps, however, it might be some translation of Lacey's play, at the end of the first Act of which is, "The showe of the procession. 1. Tipstaffe. 2. Shore's wife in her petticoate, having a taper burning in her hande. 3. The Verger. 4. Queristers. 5. Singing-men. 6. Prebendary. 7. Bishoppe of London. 8. Citi-

zens." There is likewise a Latin song sung on this occasion, in MS. Harl. 2412. STEEVENS.

The English *King Richard III.* which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1594, and which, it may be presumed, had been exhibited some years before, was probably written by the author of *The Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster.* MALONE.

I shall here subjoin two Dissertations, one by Dr. Warburton, and one by Mr. Upton, upon the *Vice.*

ACT III. SCENE I.

Thus like the formal vice, Iniquity, &c.] As this corrupt reading in the common books hath occasioned our saying something of the barbarities of theatrical representations amongst us before the time of Shakspeare, it may not be improper, for a better apprehension of this whole, to give the reader some general account of the rise and progress of the modern stage.

The first form in which the drama appeared in the west of Europe, after the destruction of learned Greece and Rome, and that a calm of dulness had finished upon letters what the rage of barbarism had begun, was that of the Mysteries. These were the fashionable and favourite diversions of all ranks of people both in France, Spain, and England. In which last place, as we learn by Stow, they were in use about the time of Richard the second and Henry the fourth. As to Italy, by what I can find, the first rudiments of their stage, with regard to the *matter*, were profane subjects, and, with regard to the *form*, a corruption of the ancient *mimes* and *attellanes*: by which means they got sooner into the right road than their neighbours; having had regular plays amongst them wrote as early as the fifteenth century.

As to these *mysteries*, they were, as their name speaks them, a representation of some scripture-story, *to the life*: as may be seen from the following passage in an old French history, intitled, *La Chronique de Metz composée par le curé de St. Euchaire*; which will give the reader no bad idea of the surprising absurdity of these strange representations: "L'an 1437 le 3 Juillet (*says the honest Chronicler,*) fut fait le Jeu de la Passion de N. S. en la plaine de Veximiel. Et fut Dieu un sire appellé Seigneur Nicolle Dom Neufchastel, lequel etoit Curé de St. Victour de Metz, lequel fut presque mort en la Croix, s'il ne fût été secourus; & convient qu'un autre Prêtre fut mis en la Croix pour parfaire le Personnage du Cruciflement pour ce jour; & le lendemain le dit Curé de St. Victour parfit la Resurrection, et fit très hautement

son personage ; & dura le dit Jeu——Et autre Prêtre qui s' appelloit Mre. Jean de Nicey, qui estoit Chapelain de Metrange, fut Judas : lequel fut presque mort en pendent, car le cuer li faillit, et fut bien hâtivement dependu & porté en Voye. Et etoit la bouche d'Enfer tresbien faite ; car elle ouvroit & clooit, quand les Diables y vouloient entrer & isser ; & avoit deux gross Culs d'Acier,” &c. Alluding to this kind of representations Archbishop Harsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 71, says : “ The little children were never so afraid of Hell-mouth in the old plays, painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and foul bottle nose.” Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, gives a fuller description of them in these words, “ The *Guuary Miracle*, in English a *Miracle Play*, is a kind of interlude compiled in Cornish out of some scripture history. For representing it, they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of an inclosed playne, some 40 or 50 foot. The country people flock from all sides many miles off, to hear and see it. For they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the ear. The players conne not their parts without book, but are prompted by one called the *ordinary*, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand,” &c. &c. There was always a droll or buffoon in these *mysteries*, to make the people mirth with his sufferings or absurdities : and they could think of no better a personage to sustain this part than the *devil* himself. Even in the *mystery* of the *Passion* mentioned above, it was contrived to make him ridiculous. Which circumstance is hinted at by Shakspeare (who had frequent allusions to these things) in *The Taming of the Shrew*, where one of the players asks for *a little vinegar*, (as a *property*) *to make the devil roar*.* For after the sponge with the gall and vinegar had been employed in the representation, they used to clap it to the nose of the devil ; which making him roar, as if it had been *holy-water*, afforded infinite diversion to the people. So that *vinegar* in the old farces, was always afterwards in use to torment their *devil*. We have divers old English proverbs, in which the *devil* is represented as acting or suffering ridiculously and absurdly, which all arose from the part he bore in these *mysteries*, as in that, for instance, of—*Great Cry and little Wool, as the Devil said when he sheered his Hogs*. For the sheep-shearing of Nabal being represented in the *mystery of David and Abigail*, and the *devil* always attending Nabal, was made to imitate it by *shearing a hog*. This kind of absurdity, as it is the properest to create laughter, was the subject of the *ridiculous* in the ancient *mimes*,

* This is not in Shakspeare's play, but in the *old* play entitled *The Taming of a Shrew*. MALONE.

as we learn from these words of Saint Austin : *Ne faciamus ut mimi solent, & optemus à libero aquam, à lymphis vinum.**

These *mysteries*, we see, were given in France at first, as well as in England, *sub dio*, and only in the provinces. Afterwards we find them got into Paris, and a company established in the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* to represent them. But good letters and religion beginning to make their way in the latter end of the reign of Francis the first, the stupidity and prophaneness of the *mysteries* made the courtiers and clergy join their interest for their suppression. Accordingly, in the year 1541, the procureur-general, in the name of the king, presented a *request* against the company to the parliament. The three principal branches of his charge against them were, that the representation of the Old Testament stories inclined the people to Judaism ; that the New Testament stories encouraged libertinism and infidelity ; and that both of them lessened the charities to the poor. It seems that this prosecution succeeded ; for, in 1548, the parliament of Paris confirmed the company in the possession of the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, but interdicted the representation of the *mysteries*. But in Spain, we find by Cervantes, that they continued much longer ; and held their own, even after good comedy came in amongst them : as appears from the excellent critique of the canon, in the fourth book, where he shows how the old extravagant *romances* might be made the foundation of a regular *epic* (which, he says, *tambien puede escriverse en prosa como en verso* ; †) as the *mystery-plays* might be improved into artful *comedy*. His words are, *Pues que si venimos à las comedias divinas, que de milagros falsos jingen en ellas, que de cosas apócrifas, y mal entendidas, attribueyendo a un santo los milagros de otro* ; ‡ which made them so fond of miracles that they introduced them into *las comedias humanas*, as he calls them. To return :

Upon this prohibition, the French poets turned themselves from *religious* to *moral* farces. And in this we soon followed them : the publick taste not suffering any great alteration at first, though the Italians at this time afforded many just compositions for better models. These farces they called *moralities*. Pierre Gringore, one of their old poets, printed one of these *moralities*, intitled *La Moralité de l'Homme Obstinenté*. The persons of the drama are *l'Homme Obstinenté*—*Pugnition Divine*—*Simonie*—*Hypocrisie*—and *Demerites-Communes*. The *Homme Obstinenté* is the atheist, and comes in blaspheming, and determined to persist in his impieties. Then *Pugnition Divine* appears, sitting on a throne in the air, and menacing the atheist with punishment. After this scene, *Simonie*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Demerites-Communes* appear

* Civ. D. L. IV.

† B. IV. c. 20.

‡ Ibid. 21.

and play their parts. In conclusion, *Pugnition Divine* returns, preaches to them, upbraids them with their crimes, and, in short, draws them all to repentance, all but the *Homme Obstinent*, who persists in his impiety, and is destroyed for an example. To this sad serious subject they added, though in a separate representation, a merry kind of farce called *Sottié*, in which there was *un Paysan* [the *Clown*] under the name of *Sot-Commun* [or *Fool*]. But we, who borrowed all these delicacies from the French, blended the *Moralité* and *Sottié* together: So that the *Paysan* or *Sot-Commun*, the *Clown* or *Fool*, got a place in our serious *moralities*: Whose business we may understand in the frequent allusions our Shakspeare makes to them: as in that fine speech in the beginning of the third Act of *Measure for Measure*, where we have this obscure passage:

“ —— merely thou art *Death's Fool*,
“ For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,
“ And yet runn'st tow'r'd him still.”

For, in these *moralities*, the *Fool* of the piece, in order to show the inevitable approaches of *Death*, (another of the *Dramatis Personæ*,) is made to employ all his stratagems to avoid him; which, as the matter is ordered, bring the *Fool*, at every turn, into the very jaws of his enemy: So that a representation of these scenes would afford a great deal of good mirth and morals mixed together. The very same thing is again alluded to in these lines of *Love's Labour's Lost*:

“ So *Portent-like* I would o'er-rule his state,
“ That he should be my *Fool*, and I his *Fate*.”

Act IV. sc. ii.

But the French, as we say, keeping these two sorts of farces distinct, they became, in time, the parents of *tragedy* and *comedy*; while we, by jumbling them together, begot in an evil hour, that mongrel species, unknown to nature and antiquity, called *tragi-comedy*. WARBURTON.

TO this, when Mr. Upton's Dissertation is subjoined, there will, perhaps, be no need of any other account of the *Vice*.

Like the old Vice.] The allusion here* is to the *Vice*, a droll character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakspeare alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth-Night*, Act IV:

“ In a trice, like to the old *Vice*;—
“ Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath,
“ Cries, ah, ha! to the Devil.”

In *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* Act III. Falstaff com-

* i. e. p. 3, of Mr. Upton's book, where the words—*like the old Vice*—occur. MALONE.

pares Shallow to a *Vice's* dagger of lath. In *Hamlet*, Act III. Hamlet calls his uncle :

“ A vice of kings.”

i. e. a ridiculous representation of majesty. These passages the editors have very rightly expounded. I will now mention some others, which seem to have escaped their notice, the allusions being not quite so obvious.

The iniquity was often the *Vice* in our moralities ; and is introduced in Ben Jonson’s play called *The Devil’s an Ass* : and likewise mentioned in his Epigr. cxv :

“ Being no vicious person, but the *Vice*

“ About the town,

“ Acts old *Iniquity*, and in the fit

“ Of miming, gets th’ opinion of a wit.”

But a passage cited from his play will make the following observations more plain. Act I. Pug asks the devil “ to lend him a *Vice* : ”

“ Satan. What *Vice* ?

“ What kind would thou have it of ?

“ Pug. Why, any *Fraud*,

“ Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*,

“ Or old *Iniquity*: I’ll call him hither.”

Thus the passage should be ordered :

“ Pug. Why any: *Fraud*,

“ Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*,

“ Or old *Iniquity*.

“ Pug. I’ll call him hither.”

“ Enter *Iniquity the Vice*.

“ Ini. What is he calls upon me, and would seem to lack a *Vice* ?

“ Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice.”

And in his *Staple of News*, Act II :

“ Mirth. How like you the *Vice* i’ th’ play ?

“ Expectation. Which is he ?

“ Mirth. Three or four; old *Covetousness*, the sordid *Penny-Boy*, the *Money-Bawd*, who is a flesh-bawd too, they say.

“ Tattle. But here is never a *Fiend* to carry him away. Besides, he has never a wooden dagger ! I’d not give a rush for a *Vice*, that has not a wooden dagger to snap at everybody he meets.

“ Mirth. That was the old way, gossip, when *Iniquity* came in, like hokos pokos, in a jugler’s jerkin,” &c.

He alludes to the *Vice* in *The Alchymist*, Act I. sc. iii :

“ Sub. And, on your stall, a puppet, with a *Vice*.**”

* —— a puppet, with a *Vice*.] Mr. Upton has misinterpreted this passage. A *vice* in the present instance means a *device*, *clock-work*. Coryat, p. 254, speaks of a picture whose eyes were moved by a *vice*. FARMER.

Some places of Shakspeare will from hence appear more easy, as in *The First Part of King Henry IV.* Act II. where Hal humorously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, *That reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years*, in allusion to this buffoon character. In *King Richard III.* Act III:

“ Thus like the formal Vice, *Iniquity*,

“ I moralize two meanings in one word.”

Iniquity is the formal Vice. Some correct the passage:

“ Thus like formal-wise *antiquity*,

“ I moralize: Two meanings in one word.”

Which correction is out of all rule of criticism. In *Hamlet*, Act I. there is an allusion, still more distant, to the *Vice*; which will not be obvious at first, and therefore is to be introduced with a short explanation. This buffoon character was used to make fun with the Devil; and he had several trite expressions, as, *I'll be with you in a trice: Ah, ha, boy, are you there?* &c. And this was great entertainment to the audience, to see their old enemy so belaboured in effigy. In *King Henry V.* Act IV. a boy characterizing Pistol, says, *Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour, than this roaring Devil i' the old play: every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger.* Now, Hamlet, having been instructed by his father's ghost, is resolved to break the subject of the discourse to none but Horatio; and to all others his intention is to appear as a sort of madman; when therefore the oath of secrecy is given to the centinels, and the Ghost unseen calls out, *swear*; Hamlet speaks to it as the *Vice* does to the Devil. *Ah, ha, boy, say'st thou so? Art thou there, Truepenny?* Hamlet had a mind that the centinels should imagine this was a shape that the devil had put on; and in Act III. he is somewhat of this opinion himself:

“ The spirit that I have seen

“ May be the devil.”

The manner of speech therefore to the Devil was what all the audience were well acquainted with: and it takes off, in some measure, from the horror of the scene. Perhaps too the poet was willing to inculcate, that good humour is the best weapon to deal with the Devil. *Truepenny*, either by way of irony, or literally from the Greek, *τούπανον*, *veterator*. Which word the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, ver. 447, explains, *τρύμη*, ο περιτετριμένος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡν ἡμεῖς ΤΡΥΠΑΝΟΝ καλοῦμεν. Several have tried to find a derivation of the *Vice*: if I should not hit on the right, I should only err with others. *The Vice* is either a quality personalized, as *BIH* and *KAPΓΟΣ* in Hesiod and *Æschylus*; *Sin* and *Death* in Milton; and indeed *Vice* itself is a person, B. XI. 517:

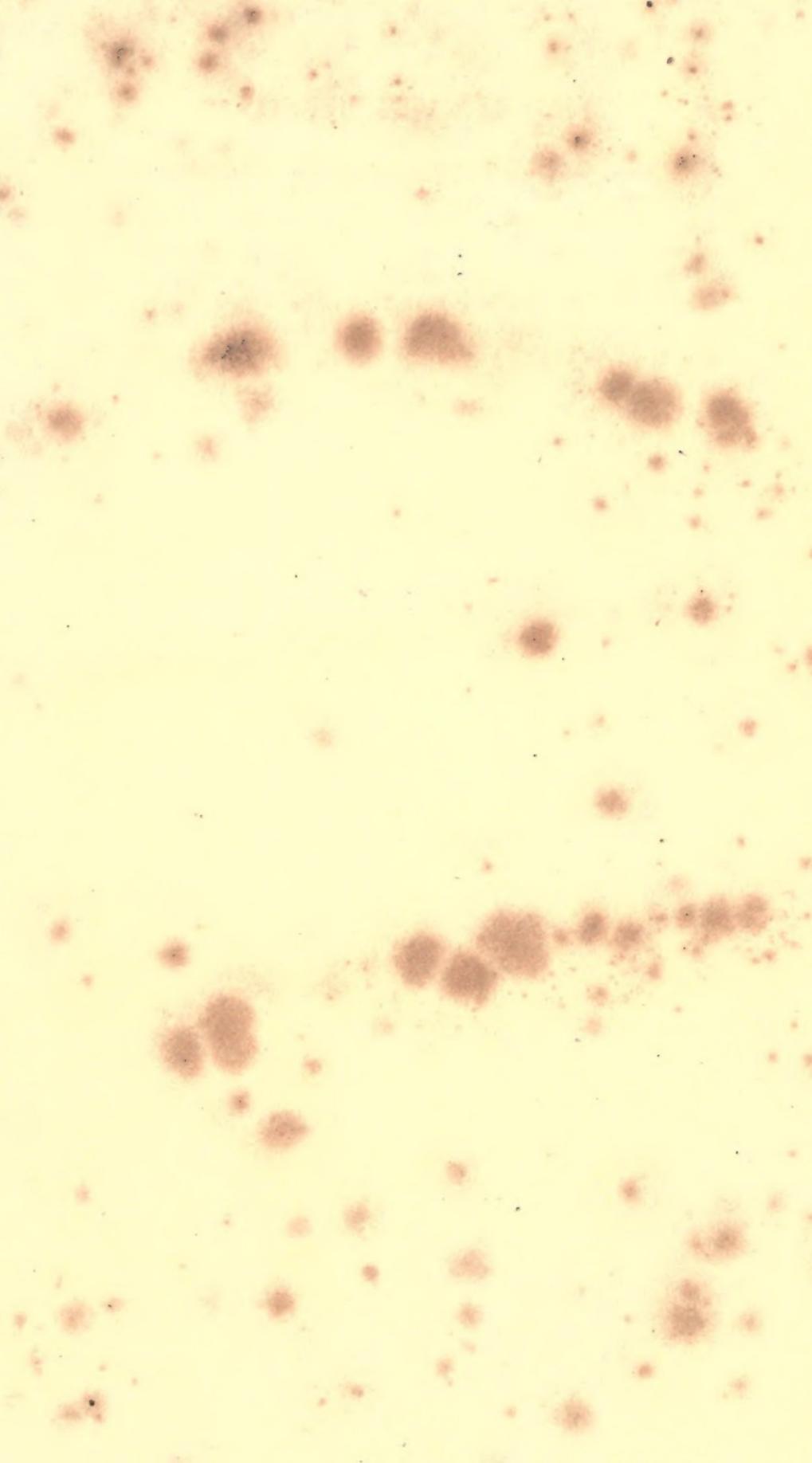
“ And took his image whom they serv'd, a brutish *Vice*.”

his image, i. e. a brutish *Vice's* image: the *Vice*, Gluttony; not without some allusion to the *Vice* of the plays: but rather, I think, 'tis an abbreviation of *vice-devil*, as vice-roy, vice-doges, &c. and therefore properly called *the Vice*. He makes very free with his master, like most other vice-roys, or prime ministers. So that he is the Devil's *Vice*, and prime minister; and 'tis this that makes him so saucy. UPTON.

Mr. Upton's learning only supplies him with absurdities. His derivation of vice is too ridiculous to be answered.

I have nothing to add to the observations of these learned criticks, but that some traces of this antiquated exhibition are still retained in the rustick puppet-plays, in which I have seen the *Devil* very lustily belaboured by *Punch*, whom I hold to be the legitimate successor of the old *Vice*. JOHNSON.

END OF VOL. XIV.



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